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"CADILLAC'S VILLAGE,"

OR

"DETROIT UNDER CADILLAC."

WITH

LIST OF PROPERTY OWNERS

AND

A HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT

1701 TO 1710.

COMPILED BY
C. M. BURTON

DETROIT, 1896.

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A series of articles prepared by me for the Sunday *News-Tribune* of Detroit, and which appeared in that paper during the summer of 1896, have been arranged into the form of a pamphlet for better preservation and distribution, among those who are interested in the study of Detroit's early history. Notwithstanding a good deal of labor has been expended in attempting to make this a perfect work, I am painfully aware that it contains many errors, but I am also certain that it contains a vast amount of entirely new historical matter, that can, and probably will, be used by other students than myself.

The Rev. Christian Denissen, concerning whose work I have spoken more at large in the following pages, has consented, at my urgent request, to correct a few of the mistakes in my work, and I have gladly availed myself of his assistance, and have added his work as a supplement to my own.

DETROIT, Nov. 20, 1896. C. M. BURTON.

DETROIT UNDER CADILLAC.

A List of Property Owners and a History of the Settlement from 1701 to 1710.

The early history of Detroit is scarcely known. The records that contain its story are to be found in Montreal, Quebec and Paris. Mackinac was established long before Detroit was thought of, but it existed merely as a missionary post, and as a rendezvous for voyageurs and a depot for supplies for the Indian trade. It was never a colony, and no thought of colonization was ever coupled with its name, nor was it established or maintained with any expectation that a colony would be founded. It was so far north, and the climate was so cold that there was no certainty of a corn crop any year, and Indian corn was the only bread food that was raised until after the establishment of Detroit. The Indians friendly to French interests were all living in the north, for they had been driven from this part of the country by the Iroquois in the long series of wars, which immediately preceded the establishment of a military post at this point.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac had been the commandant at Mackinac from 1694 to 1698, and while occupying that position had cast his eye southward as a better location than Mackinac for founding a colony. With the foresight of a skillful diplomat he reasoned that the location of a permanent colony on the Detroit river would tend to keep the English from trading among the upper or French Indians and, moreover, if the post once established was properly managed, the commandant could draw around it all the Indians of the west, and their numbers, added to the strength of a French garrison, would compel a peace with the warlike Iroquois. He was right in his reasonings and if his plans had been carried out as he laid them one may reasonably think that the French power would still be strong in America. Having obtained permission from his government to found a colony at Detroit, he set out on his errand in the spring of 1701, and reached the site of the future city on the 24th of July. The palisades, at once erected for the post, inclosed an arpent of land, a French acre of 192 feet on a side.

HUNTING FOR FURS.

Most of the business carried on in this western country was hunting the fur-bearing animals, preparing their furs for market, and transporting them to Montreal. But the hunters had to live, and a trade was carried on between the latter place and the upper country, as this was called, by means of canoes and bateaux. These canoes were loaded at Montreal and brought to Detroit either over the Ottawa river away up north, coming down through the Georgian bay, or through the Niagara route, over the Lakes Ontario and Erie. The latter route was the easier of the two, for there was but one portage at Niagara

Falls, while over the Ottawa route there were at least 30 portages.

The first trip Cadillac made was over the Ottawa route, for the French government feared that the Iroquois Indians would attack him if he went on the Niagara route, but the next year, 1702, there was less fear of these warlike Indians and the shorter and easier road was taken.

There were traders, capitalists in a small way in Montreal, who fitted out these canoe loads of merchandise and sent them to the upper country. One or these merchants would employ a trustworthy voyageur who might, perhaps, have an interest in the enterprise, to fit out an expedition to the upper country. The canoe being loaded, agreements or contracts were made with a sufficient number of men to conduct the enterprise. All these agreements and contracts with the employes were reduced to writing before a notary in Montreal. If the parties were able to write they signed their names to the agreements, and if they were illiterate, that fact was stated in the contract. These contracts were retained by the notary, and now form one of the best evidences of the early life of this first western colony.

I have thousands of these agreements, extending from 1680 to 1760, and they contain not only the names of the early voyageurs, but their placesof residence and occupations, dates of their visits to the western country, times and terms of employment, and they frequently show the value of services and commodities and the volume of trade carried on.

SPRANG UP, AS IF BY MAGIC.

To the Indians, the advent of Cadillac, with his little troop, was a revelation, and it worked a revolution. The little village sprang up as if by magic, and the Indians flocked to it from all sides; from all quarters they came, singly and in nations. What on the 23rd of July, 1701, was a wilderness, and on the next day was a houseless city of 100 souls, in eight months time was a rival of Montreal and Quebec in trade, had a population of 6,000 beings, and was the metropolis of America. The Indians, far outnumbering the whites, were encouraged to settle around the fort, and their villages, four or five in number, were above and below the palisaded inclosure.

The next three years were devoted to the building up of the village and putting on a firm foundation the work already laid out. The lots within the palisades were all very small, generally about 20x25 feet, and probably entirely covered by buildings. The civilians owned their own houses, while those of the soldiers belonged to Cadillac. To the soldiers small gardens of half an acre each were fenced off, a short distance east of the inclosure and fronting on the east side of Randolph street, between the river and Fort street.

CITY'S ANCIENT BOUNDS.

It was not until 1704 that the founder obtained permission to make conveyances of the lands in and around the village, though it is very probable that the persons who took possession of parcels before that date, and built on or cultivated them, did so with the tacit understanding that their titles would be confirmed some day. By the time Cadillac had obtained permission to make transfers to his inhabitants, the boundary lines of the village had grown too small, and so the palisades were set farther out, and new palisades built, to include a more extended territory.

The principal street of the village was Ste. Anne street, running about parallel to the present Jefferson avenue, and occupying nearly the northerly line of that thoroughfare, so that the southern tier of lots and St. Louis street fell entirely in that street.

The westerly line was not far from the present line of Shelby street, and the easterly line was a short distance west of Griswold street. At the easterly end, and at first without the palisades, was a church, occupying

the ground, on which is the present banking house of A. Ives & Sons. When the village limits were extended, the line was moved to the east and west and reached to Griswold street on the east, and Wayne street on the west. The conveyances, made by Cadillac during the remainder of his stay in the place, were forwarded by him to the colonial office, and are now deposited in the department of marines, in Paris. Of all these conveyances, I have a complete copy, and have undertaken to arrange them in a manner to construct a map of Detroit, as it was in 1708. The arrangement of these tracts so as to form a village plat, has been a task of no small proportions, and has been accomplished only after weeks of diligent study.

VILLAGE ON HIGH GROUND.

It may be that this map is faulty. I have no doubt that it is, in some particulars. But it will do as a foundation to work from, and a better one may be constructed hereafter, when more information can be obtained from which to work. I am better pleased with the form of the village, as indicated on this map, than with any published map of later date.

In order to prove the accuracy of the map, I had it traced on the present city map, and find the lines of lots existing before the fire of 1805, many of which still serve as boundary lines of present buildings, coincide very nearly with the Cadillac conveyances. The map also indicates that the southerly line of the village was nearly the center line of Jefferson avenue, and was thus on a high ground, while all other maps I have seen indicate the southerly line as south of Jefferson avenue, on the verge of the slope toward the river.

It seems to me reasonable that the palisades would not be driven in a hillside, and hence, that my conception of the village plat is more rational than the ideas of those who have platted the village on the verge of the hill.

Now, about the real estate owners, and the prices they paid for the property owned by them. We must understand that the real estate itself was of no great value. There were millions of acres, unclaimed and uncultivated, to be had for the asking, so that the prices derived by Cadillac from his sales are really the prices which the purchasers were willing to pay for the protection afforded by his government, and by the palisades. Cadillac was the seigneur, or lord, and had applied for the office and title of marquis of Detroit; and these little parcels of land he sold were disposed of on condition that the purchaser should occupy or cultivate, or retain possession of, in person or by tenant, and should pay to the lord, an annual stipend.

This was not great, but it was sufficient to keep the palisades in repair, to maintain the soldiery, and provide for Cadillac and his family. Perhaps the revenues would not be sufficient to do all this, but it did a part, and there were other sources of revenue on which the lord could depend.

The trade of the post was in his hands, for some years, and a considerable revenue was obtained in this manner. The Company of the Colony had the exclusive right to the trade at Detroit at one time, and during this period, Cadillac had a salary of 2,000 livres, and was not obliged to maintain the soldiers at his expense. A livre was a French coin of the value of 20 cents, but at this time the relative value of this money was greater than at the present time.

WINDMILL GRINDS THE CORN.

The company did not want Detroit colonized. They preferred to have the country devoted to hunting, rather than to agriculture, but they gave up everything to Cadillac in 1705, and after that date the whole expense of the government fell on his shoulders.

There was another expense that fell alike on Cadillac and the inhabitants, and that was the maintenance of the

church and the priest. The church itself, and all the vestments and paraphernalia, belonged to Cadillac, as his individual property. A large portion of the expense of maintaining the parish priest was also borne by him, but the inhabitants paid a part. Taxes, as we understand them, were unknown to the people of that day, but those traders who came to Detroit solely to trade, and who did not reside here, were compelled to pay something for the church privileges that they enjoyed. Cadillac owned the public mill—a windmill—used to grind corn and wheat. This returned a yearly net revenue of 500 crowns.

EARLY LAND RENTALS.

On the accompanying map I have placed numbers on the various lots to conform to the report made by Cadillac. They do not agree with the order of alienation, but all the transfers were made between 1707 and 1710. The names of the purchasers, arranged according to the numbers on the map, are also given, with the consideration for each parcel. The names are sometimes indefinite, for these Frenchmen had curious habits of changing their name, passing by different names at different times, and even in the little village Cadillac did not seem to know the first names of all his people, as frequent references are made such as "a man named Rencontre," "a man named Beauregard."

Generally, when a parcel of land was conveyed, there were two items in the consideration required. First, a fixed rental, payable every year and probably accepted in lieu of all taxes, except the tithes for maintaining the church, and second, a certain sum which Cadillac required for privileges extended to the purchaser, as for instance, suppose the purchaser was a blacksmith, Cadillac having the exclusive right of trading at the post, would grant this purchaser the right of blacksmithing to the exclusion of all others, and would receive an extra compensation for this privilege. The ownership of the land remained in Cadillac, and no man was entitled to his lot unless he took and maintained actual possession of it. If he abandoned it, it reverted to Cadillac, and he sold it to some other person.

From references in some of the conveyances, it appears that there were transfers made to parties not included in the report. We know that a man named Boucherville, and another named St. Aubin owned lands, but we do not have their deeds.

Cadillac's conveyances were not confined to the village. He granted a good many farms and the boundary lines of these tracts can be as distinctly traced as if made today. These farmers lived within the palisades, for it was sometimes dangerous to live, unprotected by soldiers. The farmers had rents to pay for the farm lands, similar to the inhabitants of the village. But where a farmer had two places, one in the country, and one in the city, a different and lower rate of rents was demanded. This list doubtless contains the names of the most influential of the first settlers of Detroit, and many of them are familiar as the ancestors of the families of French descent, still remaining with us.

I give the name of the lot owner, the number of his lot and the date of the conveyance and consideration paid.

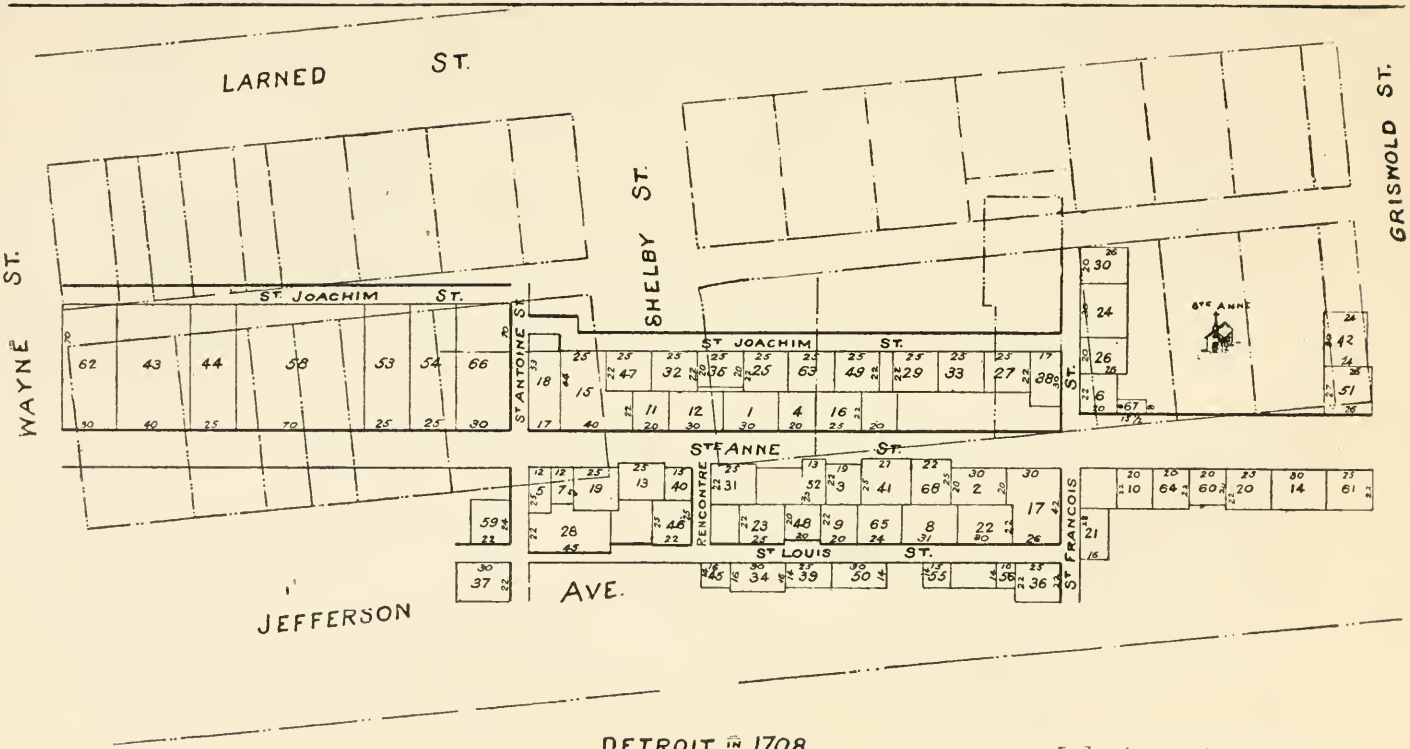
(*See Map on opposite page.*)

DETROIT'S ORIGINAL COLONISTS.

1—Pierre Chesne, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights given up, all payable in furs, or in such coined money as may be current.

2—Andre Chouet, dit Cameraud, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights

3—Pierre Taverau, dit La Grandeur, March 10, 1707, for 38 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was afterwards conveyed to Robert Germain. A sol, or sou, was a small coin, or penny.



DETROIT IN 1708.

——— Indicates present plan of City.

4—Joseph Despre, or Depre, March 10, 1707, for 2 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

5—Solomon Joseph Du Vestin, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Richard le Michel Bizaillon.

6—Pierre Leger, dit Parisien, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Jacques Cardinal.

7—Bonaventure Compien, dit L'Esperance, March 10, 1707, for 21 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Francis Livernois.

8—Jacob de Marsac, dit Desrocher, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres and 2 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

9—Mr. D'Argenteuil, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Nicolas Rose.

10—Jean Richard, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was abandoned and afterward granted to Jacques Hubert.

11—Jean Labatier, dit Champaign, March 10, 1707, 2 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights. This man's name is given in another place as Abatis. This lot was surrendered March 27, 1709.

12—Estienne Boutron, dit Major, March 10, 1707, 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot reverted to Cadillac and was newly granted to Antoine Magnant.

13—Pierre Hemard, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Jacques Hubert.

14—Antoine Dupuis, dit Beauregard, March 10, 1707, 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Jean Baptiste Duplessis.

15—Jacques Langlois, March 10, 1707, for 6 livres and 10 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

16—Guillaume Bouet, dit Deliard, March 10, 1707, for 2 livres and 10 sols rent, and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was subsequently sold to Pierre Robert.

17—Michel Masse, March 10, 1707, for 8 livres and 8 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

18—Michel Campo, March 10, 1707, for 5 livres and 6 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

19—Louis Normand, March 10, 1707, for 2 livres and 10 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This was subsequently sold to Alexis Lemoine.

20—Francois Tesee, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. On the 20th of June, 1710, this parcel was conveyed to Antoine Carriere.

21—Pierre Chantelon, March 10, 1707, for 56 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was later conveyed to Jean Le Soeur.

22—Francois Bienvenue, dit de L'Isle, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent, and 10 livres for other rights. Many descendants of this man still live in and around Detroit. They generally go by the name of Delisle, and some of them have coupled the two names together, as Bienvenue-Delisle.

23—Pierre Esteve, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

24—Blaise Surgere, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

25—Pierre Porrier, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

26—Antoine Ferron, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent, and 10 livres for other rights.

27—Pierre Tacet, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This was afterwards sold to Jean Coutent.

28—Francois Fafard de Lorme, March 10, 1707, for 4 livres and 10 sols rent, and 10 livres for other rights.

29—Michel Disier, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

30—Jacob de Marsac, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This lot was sold to Charles Charon.

31—"A man named Rencontre." March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other privileges. There was a "Rencontre" street in the village, which, I suppose took its name from this person.

32—"A man named Desloriers," March 10, 1708, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

33—A man named Xaintonge, March 10, 1708, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. The name seems to indicate that the owner of this parcel was an Indian, though it would not be very likely that an Indian would pay rent, or would follow a trade. He sold a lot to " a man named Bouche."

34—Jacques Du Moulin, March 10, 1708, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

35—Guilleaume Aquet, dit, Laporte, March 10, 1708, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This grantee in other places is named Aquenet. Pierre Chesne, who owned the lot on Ste. Anne street, adjacent to this

lot, purchased it, thus giving him two frontages, one on Ste. Anne and the other on St. Joachim street.

Pierre Chesne (or Chene, as it is now commonly called), was one of the most important men of that early day, and many of his descendants still reside in Detroit.

36—Louis Gustineau, March 10, 1708, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

37—Joseph Parent, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights. Parent was a blacksmith. It has been stated by some who have written regarding Detroit's early history, that Parent and Pierre Roy were living among the Indians in the neighborhood of Detroit before the arrival of Cadillac and his party, and consequently that they were the first white people here.

38—Martin Sirier, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights. Nicolas Rivard, afterwards purchased this parcel.

39—Quilenchive, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. The grantee was an Indian chief, I think, and he afterwards sold the parcel to Julien Dervisseau.

40—M. Derance, March 10, 1707, for 30 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

41—Du Figuier, March 10, 1707, for 54 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. The lot was surrendered by Du Figuier and resold to Paul Guillet.

42—La Montagne, called Pierre Mouet, March 10, 1707, for 4 livres, 10 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. Baptiste Trudeau subsequently purchased this property.

43—Pierre Mallet, March 10, 1707, for 8 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

44—Antoine Dufresne, March 14, 1708, for 5 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

45—Jean Baptiste Chornic, March 10, 1708, for 32 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. Subsequently, transferred to Jean Chevalier.

46—Jean Casse, March 10, 1708, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. Sold to Zacharie Plante.

47—Paul Langlois, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

48—Jerome Marliard, March 10, 1707, for 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

49—Andre Bombardie, March 10, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

50—Pierre Du Roy, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

51—Pierre Roy, March 10, 1707, for 3 livres 18 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

52—Francois Marque, March 10, 1707, for 26 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. Jean Paquet purchased this lot.

53—Antoine Magnant, March 20, 1708, for 5 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

54—Francois Bonne, July 7, 1708, at 5 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

55—Toussaints Dardennes, March 20, 1703, at 30 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

56—Pierre Bassinet, March 20, 1708, at 20 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

57—Francois Brunet, June 20, 1708, at 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

58—Antoine Beauregard, July 17, 1708, at 12 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights. This was surrendered to Cadillac.

59—Marie Le Page, March 20, 1707, at 3 livres 12 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. This is the only record of a conveyance to a woman in the early Detroit. Madam Le Page had a husband living at this time, but subsequent events, as well as this conveyance, lead me to think that he had separated from her—probably with just cause. Her name and a little of her history appears in the directory below.

60—Jacques Campo, March 1, 1709, at 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

61—Jean Serond, March 10, 1707, at 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights. Joseph Trudeau bought this lot subsequently.

62—Pierre Robert, March 14, 1709, at 6 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

63—Larramee, March 6, 1707, for 50 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

64—Rene Le Moine, March 20, 1709, at 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

65—Jacques Le Moine, Sept. 1, 1706, at 40 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

66—Paul Guillet, Dec. 10, 1709, at 6 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

67—Joseph Rinard, June 27, 1710, at 30 sols rent and 10 livres for other rights.

68—Antoine Tuffe, called du Fresne, June 28, 1710, at 2 livres rent and 10 livres for other rights.

CADILLAC'S TENANT FARMERS.

Of the garden lands within the fort we have the record of only two transfers, of half an arpent each, one to Beauregard and the other to Delisle. The rate of rental in each case was 1 sol per foot, making 4 livres and 10

sols. The price fixes the size of a half arpent as 90 feet front.

The farm lands, so far as we now know, were nearly all granted up stream, from the fort. One grant, and the only one of which we had positive knowledge, up to the discovery of the transfers I have recently unearthed, was to de Lorme. This farm is still called the de Lorme farm, from its original proprietor, and is situate in the township of Grosse Pointe, a short distance east of the present water works. Having the exact location of this farm, and the boundary lines of the others, it would not be as difficult a task to plan out the French concessions as it has been to map the ancient city.

I have a list of 31 of these farm grants; some were made to lot owners in the city. The list of grantees is as follows:

1, Pierre Mallet; 2, Francois Fafard de Lorme; 3, Baptiste Gorion; 4, Jacob de Marsac; 5, Andre Bombardie; 6, Pierre Hemard; 7, Bonaventure Compien; 8, Jerome Marliard; 9, Pierre Esteve; 10, Estienne Boutron; 11, Antoine Dupuis; 12, Joseph Parent; 13, Michael Dizier; 14, Francois Bosseron; 15, Jacob de Marsac; 16, Antoine Dupuis (this is the same as No. 11, above); 17, Francois Marque; 18, Jacques L'Anglois; 19, Paul L'Anglois; 20, Antoine Texier; 21, Francois Jardis, 22, Pierre Chantelor; 23, Jean Richard; 24, "a man named Laloire; 25, Pierre Leger; 26, "a man named Lefleur;" 27, Michel Campos; 28, Jean Durant; 29, Blaise Surgere; 30, Francois Masse; 31, Damoisell Magdalaine de la Mothe (Cadillac's daughter),) a tract of land extending from the River Ecorse, three leagues, 9 miles, with a depth of five leagues, 15 miles, and including Grosse Ile and all other islands in the vicinity.

In addition to the above grants were 13 gardens, of half an arpent each, as follows:

1, Monsieur Dargenteuil; 2, Pierre Mallet; 3, Jacob de Marsac; 4, Jacques Langlois; 5, Louis Normand; 6, Pierre Esteve; 7, Jerome Marlier; 8, Michael Disier; 9, Estienne Boutron; 10, Bonaventure Compiens; 11, —— Chantelor; 12, Pierre Porrier; 13, Pierre Leger.

I believe that the above lists will give the names of every resident in Detroit up to the year 1708, excepting only the priest, the officers of the company and the soldiers.

CADILLAC'S HOMESTEAD.

Where did Cadillac live?

I cannot answer this question satisfactorily now, though I think he lived on the northwest corner of St. Francois and Ste. Anne streets, near the church. If I am right his house was on what is now the north side of Jefferson avenue, half way between Griswold and Shelby streets, about where the old Masonic hall stands. You will observe that the properties bringing the highest prices were those on Ste. Anne street, in the immediate vicinity of this land. This would naturally follow, if the house of the commandant was located here, St. Anne street, at this point, was the Woodward avenue of the little city, and here the aristocracy lived with Cadillac in their midst.

What kind of houses did they have?

From all I have so far learned, the modern idea of a log house was unknown to them. I think their houses, even those of the better classes, consisted of stakes, driven into the ground as closely together as possible and the interstices filled with mortar or mud. These pickets were cut off, even, at the top, and a pitch-roof of split rails put on. Sawing lumber by hand was too difficult a job to permit much sawed lumber to be used, and what could be thus obtained was for interior work, doors, shutters, etc.

It is very probable that no houses had windows, except those of the wealthiest citizens. Glass, for windows, was doubtless very scarce and very expensive. I can find no certain record that there was any glass windows at all, though in the description

of the church occurs the statement that it contained a window with shutters and sash frames between, "of 20 squares," each. The squares may refer to the small panes of glass, common even until a few years since, in church windows.

A short time after Cadillac left Detroit, to become governor of Louisiana, in 1711, he had a complete inventory of his belongings in Detroit, made by Pierre Chesne and Antoine Magnant, and the priest, Father Cherubin Deniaux, and this property was turned over to Pierre Roy for safe keeping. From this list we obtain an idea of the buildings owned by Cadillac, and I append their full description.

CADILLAC'S BUILDINGS.

A warehouse 37½ feet long and 22 feet wide, 8 feet high, boarded top and bottom with thick planks of oak, the top with a good ridge and the bottom with square joints, with its shutters and doors and locks closing with a key, and a wooden staircase, a press for pressing furs, a counter, three shelves for books, lined with boards for one-fourth of the height.

Another house of stakes in earth, 33½ feet long, 19 feet wide and 8 feet high, half of planks above, with joints in a good ridge and the rest of stakes, and below, half of beams with square joints, half mortised, and the other part of split stakes, with four cabinets, with their doors and locks closing with keys. The said house having window shutters and a door closing with a key.

A small cellar adjoining the said house, boarded below with split stakes with a shutter and a door closing with a key. Also a porch at the door of said house with the door and lock.

Another house of stakes in earth, 18 feet long, 12½ wide, 6½ high, boarded with split stakes above, and below half of sawn beams with square joints, and the other half without boarding; with its shutters and a door closing with a key. Also a cabinet in the house, with a door and its hinges, also a postern outside the house, framed with its lock. Also a cellar 12½ feet long by 6 wide, adjoining the house, with a door and its iron work.

Another inferior house of stakes in earth, 16 feet long, 12 wide, without either door or shutters, serving as a shed for cattle.

Also a barn 50 feet long by 27 feet wide and 11 high, the top roofed with wood, having its tenons broken, with its "battrier" of 34 joists and partly worn out, surrounded with stakes in earth joined together.

Another house 33 feet long, 21 wide, 9 high, boarded above with split stakes, surrounded with stakes in earth, neither closing with a door nor by shutters, having only four sashes of the shutters and the two side timbers of the door.

Also a dove cote, raised on four wooden posts, 6 feet high, 10 square, surrounded with oak beams two inches thick, with square joints, covered with straw, the two gable ends of earth, its door and its hinges.

Also an ice house 15 feet square and 6 high out of the ground and 15 feet deep in the ground, boarded with split beams, with its door closing with a key.

Also a building used as a church, 35 feet long, 24½ wide, 10 high, boarded entirely above, with oak joists in a good ridge, and below of beams with square joints; with its doors, windows and shutters, and sash frames between of 20 squares each, the whole closing with a key.

Also a heavy bell.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

I have been asked what the people in Detroit did during the period of the command of Cadillac. At first they were particularly engaged in putting up the small houses that served to shelter them from the rain and cold, and erecting the palisades that protected them from the Indians. At the end of the first year after the founding of the village, and on the 25th of September, 1702, Cadillac sent a report, covering 53 closely written pages of manuscript, descriptive of

what he had done and seen around Detroit, and his plans for the future great city. His letter is very interesting and some ideas can be obtained from it to show the occupations of his colonists.

The palisades he had erected enclosed an arpent of land, making nearly 800 feet of picket line. These pickets were small trees, six or eight inches in diameter, driven three or four feet into the earth, and extending some 12 to 15 feet above the ground. There were no women at Detroit during the first year, and probably the men huddled together two or three or more in a hut, but as time went on and women began to come from Quebec and Montreal to join their husbands, each family had its own house.

Wild fruit, berries and nuts, grew in great abundance, and the people gathered all they could to preserve for the coming winter. When the convoy left Montreal it had carried only sufficient food to last for three months, and food had to be procured from the Indians and from hunting, to enable the people to live until the next harvest time. They had arrived too late to grow any crops for the fall of 1701, but all hands that could be spared were set at work, preparing the soil for wheat, a quantity of which Cadillac had brought along for seed. This wheat, which he called French wheat, was sown on the 7th of October, 1701, and was cut on the 21st of the succeeding July. The land was not properly prepared, but the crop was good.

THEY TILLED THE VIRGIN SOIL.

In the spring of 1702 he attempted to raise some spring wheat, but was not as successful as with his fall sowing. In the summer of 1702 he had land prepared, and directed Tonty, his lieutenant, to have 20 arpents sowed by the 20th of September. Twelve arpents were sown with Indian corn, which came up eight feet high, and of this there was an abundant crop. Every soldier, and there were 50 of them, had a small garden of half an acre for his own cultivation, and the civilians cultivated larger tracts of land, so that in the winter of 1702, there were besides the gardens, 60 arpents of wheat.

Grapes grew in abundance along the river shore, and an arpent of land was set apart, tilled, and set out with the choicest grapevines, in hopes that cultivation would improve the fruit.

To use Cadillac's own words: "All this is no easy task, as everything has to be carried on the shoulders, for we have no oxen or horses yet to draw loads, nor to plough, and to accomplish it, it is necessary to be very active."

The Indians were induced to gather around the fort and form settlements. Below or to the right of the fort were stationed the Hurons, and they had cultivated 200 arpents of land, probably all in Indian corn. Above the fort were the Oppenagos or Wolves (Loups). They occupied that portion of the city which was for many years known as the King's commons, and after the fire of 1805 was known, and is now known, as the governor and judges' plan. When Cadillac permitted the Oppenagos to occupy this land it was with the understanding that they should remove whenever the land was needed as a commons. A mile and a half further up the river he located four tribes of the Ottawas. The Miamis also came and asked for land and they were accommodated. A truce had been patched up between the French and Indians on one side and the Iroquois on the other, so that the Iroquois came to the settlement in numbers, but they did not remain there as the other tribes did.

FIRST WHITE WOMEN SETTLERS.

Madam Cadillac and Tonty's wife, the first white women of the west, came in the spring of 1702, and from this time on families began to come, and those men who were already at the settlement sent for their wives and children. Everything appeared very prosperous and Cadillac was in good spirits. He supposed that he

owned Detroit and that the trade to be carried on with it was his, but in 1703 he learned that the company of the colony of Canada claimed the trade of the new post, and he was obliged to surrender his rights to the company. From this company he received a salary as commandant, but his interest in the prosperity of the post was gone and he gave little encouragement to people at Montreal and Quebec to settle at the new place. He made great efforts to regain his lost rights, and in 1705 he was entirely successful and the company was directed to return to him everything that he had before possessed.

Now again did the people begin to flock to Detroit. More people came now than ever before, and a greater prosperity seemed to attend the enterprise. The limits of the village inclosure were extended to permit the erection of more dwellings for the new comers. Lots were granted to those who would build within the palisades, gardens were granted to those who would cultivate them, near the fort, and farms were staked off for others who would follow that pursuit. Every man had his occupation and there were no drones. There were farmers, artisans and soldiers. Every man was a hunter and during the hunting season one may well conceive that the village was nearly deserted and that only a sufficient number remained to protect the place from the savages. In 1706 Cadillac brought three horses and 10 head of cattle to the place. Evidently two of the horses died, for in 1711 there was only one horse, named Colin, remaining, but the cattle multiplied and at that date there were 29 animals belonging to Cadillac.

PLEASURES OF THE POST.

While the lines of caste were pretty strictly drawn to separate Cadillac and his immediate friends and companions from the soldiers and voyageurs, the latter associated on friendly and intimate terms with the Indians. The unmarried soldiers were encouraged to marry the Indian women, and a close study of the parish records of Canada incline me to believe that it was no very uncommon thing for a citizen to have left behind him a lawful wife and to have selected another in Detroit from some savage tribe. I cannot in any other way account for the disappearance of some individual at Quebec or Montreal or Batiscan or some of the eastern parishes, and the sudden and unexpected appearance of an individual of the same name, whose ancestry is the same, or is undefined, with a new wife while the eastern wife is still in the land of the living. The collecting together of all the parish records of Canada has disclosed many items of this nature.

There were no law courts or judges in this city in the wilderness and Cadillac was the all powerful czar of the settlement. Always clad in military garments, with his sword clanging as it struck the ground, in his military parade through the streets of the village, all hats were off at his approach and he owed obedience to but one individual—the village priest. That sword practicing was one of the pleasures of the post is very evident from the fact that when Cadillac left Detroit there were 18 swords inventoried among his effects. I do not find the record of any musical instruments and yet dancing must have been one means of whiling away the long winter evenings. In the summer time we know that lacrosse was a favorite game with both the French and savages, and the acquaintance and friendship originating in their summer games must have been continued through the winter in something of uniform pleasure to both classes. There could be no sleigh ride parties, for there were no horses, but possibly there was coasting on the hillside near the river, and I find in Cadillac's property an account of one hundred small trumpets, probably used to stir up the enthusiasm of the young savages in their hours of amusement.

SUPPRESSION BY THE JESUITS.

The older men of both the French and Indians could gather round the open fire in the great cabins of the Indians and smoke and tell stories, but for the younger people a more active pleasure must be devised. It is possible that the soldiers arranged theatricals, but if they did, these were for the benefit of the French only, for it can scarcely be possible that an Indian would understand a play.

In 1691 Cadillac had reported the attempt of the Jesuits to suppress the playing of Nicomede and Mithridate by the soldiers at Quebec, and the Jesuits were partly successful in their tirade. If the soldiers desired to entertain themselves in this manner at Quebec, it is not difficult to believe that they made the same attempt at Detroit, where they would not be reproached by the clergy. There was an abundance of brandy always on hand in the public storehouse, for every boat brought a quantity from below, and as early as 1706 a brewery was erected and Joseph Parent was employed at Montreal to come here as a brewer.

CADILLAC'S POWERS.

There was certainly no Acadian simplicity among the people who lived in Detroit during Cadillac's time. They were continually quarreling with each other and with the commandant, and entering protests and complaints against those in authority. Instances of this quarreling are very evident from the great number of Jesuit letters written on the subject, and some contentions are mentioned in Cadillac's correspondence.

A clerk named Desnoyers, sent to represent the Company of the Colony, was considered by Cadillac disobedient and contumacious. Cadillac imprisoned him for two hours. Desnoyers considered himself of great importance in the settlement and resented the imprisonment as an insult. He immediately made preparations to return to Montreal, and was about to set out on his journey when he was again arrested and imprisoned. Complaint was made against Cadillac and he defended himself to Count Pontchartrain.

On being asked why he imprisoned the clerk, he replied:

"I did so because it is laid down in my orders that nobody, officer or otherwise, is to set out from Detroit without my permission; yet the clerk Desnoyers, to continue his disobedience, had his boat put in the water and loaded for Montreal (as he says) without speaking of it to me or saying anything to me about it, claiming always that he was not subordinate to me."

The company threatened to be even with him for thus using, or misusing, their clerk. This imprisonment, Cadillac asserts, is his great "crime." "The audacity to imprison one of their servants, whom they appointed as their principal clerk, a waif and a poor wretch, who came here not knowing which way to turn on his arrival in this country. As to my powers, they are very ample, being to punish according to circumstances, by censures, by reprimands, by arrests, by imprisonment, or by deprivation of civil rights; and in case of distinct disobedience, to run my sword through any one who has so offended against me. It is by reason of the remoteness that these orders have always been given to me, and on account of the seditions and intrigues which have been attempted to be formed here, which I have known quite well how to repress."

There is one more subject of interest on which I desire to add a few answer the oft repeated question of "Who was the first white man at Detroit?" Not who were the first persons passing through the strait, but who first landed at Detroit with a determination to make that place his future home? This question would not have arisen except for statements in some of the earlier Michigan histories, which allege that Pierre Roy and Joseph Parent were located at Detroit before Cadillac

came. I believe the statement has no foundation in fact, and I will try to prove its untruth.

Cadillac asserts, in one of his early letters, that no one had ever visited this part of the country before. He certainly would not have made such a statement if two men were then living there, for he knew these men, as they were both members of his colony. Pierre Roy married an Indian woman. I take it for granted that he married her within a short time after first meeting her and that he brought her to the village as soon as they were married. Their first child was baptized on April 27, 1704, about three years after the village was founded.

Now this evidence is only circumstantial, of course, but it is sufficient to make one believe that unless Roy came with Cadillac, he did not come at all until the year 1702 or 1703. Detroit was a sort of neutral ground, not occupied by any Indians permanently, for it was above the lands of the Iroquois and below the lands occupied by the other Indian tribes with whom the Iroquois were then at war.

JOSEPH PARENT'S RECORD.

The other man who is supposed to have been here prior to Cadillac's time, was Joseph Parent. Joseph Parent was the son of Pierre Parent, of Quebec, and was born at that place Jan. 27, 1669. Jan. 31, 1690, he married Magdeleine Marette, at Beauport. He removed to Quebec where his first child, Joseph, was born, Aug. 13, 1690. His second child, Marie Magdeleine, was born Dec. 15, 1692; the third was Jean Baptiste, born 1694, '95 or '96; the fourth, Marguerite, born July 7, 1698; the fifth, Pierre, born about 1700; sixth, Marie Anne, born May 22, 1702; seventh, Gilbert, born Dec. 3, 1703; eighth, Joseph Marie, born April 25, 1705. He then removed to Detroit, where his ninth child was born, July 21, 1709.

If anything further was needed to show that he could not have lived in this country before the coming of Cadillac, we have a contract made by him on March 9, 1706, in which he agrees to go to Detroit, from Montreal, to work at his trade as master toolmaker and brewer, for three years.

I have thus shown conclusively, I think, that neither Roy nor Parent lived at or near the present location of Detroit in the year 1700, or before Cadillac came, but that Cadillac is, in fact, our first man.

DIRECTORY OF DETROIT, 1701 TO 1710.

I have compiled a list of all the people who were in or about Detroit during the first nine years of its existence from the founding of the city, in 1701, till the time that Cadillac ceased to be commandant, in 1710. This list is arranged as nearly alphabetically as the peculiarity of names will permit, and, I believe, upon the same rules that govern the compilation of directories, so that this is, in fact, a directory of the city for the nine years mentioned.

The foundation of this compilation is entirely unpublished manuscripts, from which the names have been taken as they occur, and hence the spelling is sometimes improper; but where a name has occurred more than once in these manuscripts I have chosen that spelling which seems most proper.

The majority of these people were unable to write or spell their names, and the commandant, priest or notary in whose writings the names occur spell them according to sound, or to his ideas of orthography.

This would be a further reason for imperfection in spelling. Where a person knew how to write his or her name, it was in a mechanical manner; the signer would evidently sometimes forget what letters should form the name, and consequently would omit in some signatures letters that appear in other places written by the same party.

All these things have to be contended with and an imperfect name is not an evidence of lack of earnest study to make my work complete.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Three important series of manuscripts have been carefully examined

for the purpose of ascertaining the names given herewith, and the information contained in connection with the names is taken from these three sources.

The manuscripts consist of, first, the letters and reports of Cadillac. These letters are in the archives in Paris. They are very voluminous and very interesting from an historical standpoint. I have a copy of every one that has been so far discovered. Second, the records of the church of Ste. Anne, in this city. These records are peculiarly valuable, and contain many items of historical interest, besides the birth, marriage and death notices. The catholic church, so far as my observation goes, has always been very careful to keep a record of its members, their births, ancestry, marriage and deaths. The facts relative to each individual are made matters of record in their churches.

Detroit is no exception to this rule, and although we occasionally find matters in other places that show omissions and errors in the church records, they are few and only discovered on diligent study of each individual's life.

There was a church building erected and a church record begun as early as 1701. The church was destroyed by fire in 1703, and the records, consisting probably of only a sheet or two of paper, were burned with the church. A new building was at once put up and a new record commenced in 1704.

WONDERFUL INDIVIDUAL RECORD.

The third series of manuscripts consists of the notarial records on file in the department of justice, in the city of Montreal. These contain lists of parties who were employed to go to Detroit with the traders, as bargemen or laborers. Many of them sought employment in this manner, simply to pay their expenses to the upper country, with the intention of remaining here if the surroundings suited them, and consequently some of the oldest French families in the city can find the names of their ancestors in these contracts. There are a great many of these contracts, and I have made copies of all such as pertain to Michigan, making several large volumes of closely-written manuscripts, between the years 1690 and 1760.

These, then, form the basis from which I have worked in making this directory. When this portion of my labor was completed, I turned for confirmation and further assistance to Tanguay's Dictionnaire Genealogique of French families. Too much cannot be said in commendation of this work. The author, Fr. Cyprien Tanguay, collected the registers of all the French catholic churches of Canada and Michigan, and, with incredible patience, compiled the entire matter into a grand work of seven volumes. By means of this compilation one can trace a French catholic from the time of his leaving France until his death; can there find the names of the parents, wife and children of any of these people. In consequence of the wide scope of this work it is possible to follow the domiciles and determine the occupation of any person, no matter where he lived in Canada, or how often he changed residences.

In each church where the individual's name appears in the register, sufficient data are given with it to identify him, and when these records are all brought together, as Fr. Tanguay has collected them, we have the history of every Frenchman.

DETROIT'S MISTY EARLY STORY.

We have a similar work of local importance now in process of compilation nearly completed I believe. I refer to the work of Rev. Fr. Denissen of St. Charles' church of this city. His work is founded upon the same general principles as that of Fr. Tanguay, but is confined to Detroit and Windsor and vicinity. Fr. Denissen, however, has gone outside the records of the church and has taken such other authentic records as he can find, and, as he thought, adapted to his purposes. It is well known that after the termination of the French regime in 1760 and extend-

ing even as late as 1818, very many protestants were baptized in the catholic church. There was no other church here to perform this ceremony. Many of these became converts and their names are frequently found in the succeeding pages of the church record.

It is, however, to the first 10 years of our city's history that we look for the ancestry of many of our older families. The men who came with Cadillac and those who came to him after his first establishment include the names of Chene, Campau, Belisle, DeLisle, Chapoton, St. Aubin and many others.

CONFUSION OF EARLY NAMES.

I confess that I do not understand how the old French names are made up. It seems to me that prior to the time that Detroit was founded, each of a family, on his attaining his majority, took to himself such a name as he saw fit—possibly taking the name from some tract of land—some seniory that he possessed and named. Thus we have, in many instances, a family of brothers each bearing different names. The use of the given name was little known and was scarcely ever employed except in official documents where the individual was referred to as being the son of some person whose full name was given. Even as late as 1700 the use of the surname was not fully understood and it is no infrequent circumstance to find the name of a descendant entirely unlike that of his ancestor.

I call to mind now, a few local names affected by the uncertainty of names, as the family of St. Aubin. The Detroit ancestor of this family was named Casse and the name St. Aubin was attached as a nickname. His children bore the same name of Casse, but as the third generation was reached, the name St. Aubin was frequently used alone and the name Casse omitted; after the lapse of 150 years the name St. Aubin is all that remains and the Casse is forgotten. Take the family of Beaublens. Their family name was Cuilliere. The Laffertys belong to the family of Vissiere. These are only illustrations. There are many other families in Detroit that have as abruptly and unceremoniously changed their surnames and it needs the constant watch upon each name to be able to trace the families through the generations. Another thing about these early French people that appears odd to us is that the women, upon marriage, did not take the name of their husbands. Wherever a woman is referred to her maiden name is given, followed by the statement that she is the wife of some person who is named and also frequently followed by the names of her parents. This peculiarity frequently assists one in tracing the identity of names otherwise obscure.

DETROIT'S FIRST DIRECTORY.

Abatis, Jean (or Labbatu, see Labatier).

Aguenet (or Aguet), called Laport, Guilleaume. (Possibly the name should be Haguenot).

Arnauld Bertrand, merchant, came to Detroit July 18, 1702.

Badeillac, Louis, called Laplante, made an agreement to come to Detroit May 29, 1701, the first convoy.

Bannois, Jeanne. She was the first wife of Guillaume Bouche, and died in 1703. This name is given by Tanguay as Beauvais.

Bariteau, Julien, called La Marche, came May 30, 1705.

Baron, Denys, voyageur, came June 21, 1706.

Barthe (called Belleville), Jean, a soldier, came Oct. 10, 1706.

Barthe (called Belleville), Marie Charlotte, daughter of Jean Barthe, above. Born Oct. 27, 1709.

Bassinet, Joseph, sieur Tourblanche. Came April 2, 1707.

Bassinet, Pierre, brother of above. He came April 2, 1707.

Baudreau, Gabriel. Gabriel Baudreau and his wife, Catherine Foretier, were voyageurs passing through Detroit on their way to Mobile, Nov. 24, 1708.

Baudreau, Marie Louise, daughter of Gabriel Baudreau, baptised Nov. 24, 1708.

Baugret, Francois, called Dufort, came Sept. 10, 1710.

Beauchamp, Jacques, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.

Beauchamp, Pierre, brother of above. Came same time.

Beaugis (or Baugis), Michel, voyageur.

Beauregard, see Dupuis.

Belille (or Belisle), Henry, first surgeon of the fort.

Besnard, Rene, came June 21, 1706. Soldier of Carignan regiment.

Bienvenue, Alexis, son of Francois, below. He married Josette Bouron, Jan. 17, 1740.

Bienvenue, called Delisle, Francois, came Aug. 2, 1707. His first wife was Genevieve Laferlere, and his second wife was Marianne Lemoine. He was buried Sept. 29, 1751, aged 88 years. The transformation of French names is well illustrated by this person. His descendants are nearly universally known here by the name of Delisle or DeLisle, and the surname of two centuries ago is not uncommonly used today, as a christian name, and we frequently find. Bienvenue, or Welcome, Delisles in our real estate records.

Bienvenue, Joseph, son of Francois Bienvenue above, baptized March 5, 1704, and buried Dec. 3, 1711.

Bienvenue, Marie, daughter of Francois Bienvenue above. Baptized Dec. 8, 1705. She married Jacques Roussel April 7, 1725. She is named Marianne in the marriage record.

Bienvenue, Marie Joseph, daughter of Francois Bienvenue, born Aug. 25, 1709.

Bienvenue, Rafael. Buried April 24, 1706, aged 2 years. Unless this is the same person as Joseph Bienvenue, above, it is scarcely possible that Rafael was a son of Francois Bienvenue. This is the first recorded death in Detroit, though there is other evidence that a child of Alphonse de Tonty died before the first church was burned, in 1703, and that Madam Bouche died in 1703.

Bizaillon (or Bisaillon), Michel, son of Benoit Bisaillon and of Louise Blaye, of Clairmont, in Auvergne. He married Marguerite Fafard (dit DeLorme), June 30, 1710.

Bluteau, Agathe (in some places this name is spelled Bulteau), wife of Francois Judith Contant, dit Rancontre.

Boilard, Jeanne, wife of Pierre Leger, dit Parisien.

Bombardier (called la Bombarde), Andre. A soldier and farmer.

Bombardier (called la Bombarde), Bernard Phillipe, son of Andre Bombardier above, born Oct. 12, 1709.

Bombardier, Jean. Son of Andre Bombardier above, born July 18, 1707.

Bone, Marie Anne. The name probably should be spelled Beaune. She was the widow of Francois Lorry and daughter of Jean Bone and Mary Magdelaine Bourigier. She married Martin Cirier June 12, 1710. She came to Detroit April 18, 1707, under an agreement to serve Cadillac for three years at 80 livres per year.

Bonne, Francois.

Bonnet, Guillaume (surnamed Deliard) Amorer. A native of the parish of Charlesburg, near Quebec. He died Jan. 13, 1709.

Bosne, Francois. Came April 13, 1709.

Bosseron, Francois. (Tanguay spells the name Beauceron.) Farmer. He was the husband of Marie Le Page (which name see.)

Botquin, Pierre (called St. Andre). A soldier, came Oct. 19, 1706. An inventory of goods that he carried to Detroit in 1710 includes 50 pounds of powder at 40 sols per pound, 100 pounds of bullets at 10 sols per pound, and 32 pots (of two quarts each) of brandy at 45 sols per pot.

Boucher, Guillaume. His first wife was named Jeanne Beauvais, and after her death, in 1703, he married Angelique Tholme, widow of Pierre Robert, Aug. 16, 1716.

Boucher, Pierre, Esquire sieur de Boucherville.

Bourdon, Pierre, Voyageur, came June 15, 1706. Married, in 1711, Marie Anne Gouvon.

Bougery, Denis, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.

Bourgery, Jean Louis. Brother of Denis, came Sept. 14, 1710.

Bourg, Jean (called Lapierre). Voyageur, came June 15, 1706.

Bourgoin (called St. Paul), Didier. Soldier of Montigny. He signs Bourguin.

Boutron (called Major) Estienne. Farmer The name Estienne shows one of the common transformations of the French words. This is now commonly written Etienne (Stephen), and the second letter s has been dropped, as it has in Destroit, Chesne, despot, and many other words.

Boutron (called Major), Marguerite. Daughter of Etienne Boutron, above, born Sept. 15, 1709.

Boutron, (called Major) Marie Angelique, daughter of Etienne Boutron, baptized July 5, 1707.

Boyer, Zacharie. Voyageur, came May 20, 1708.

Boyer, Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Brabant, Michel. Voyageur, came Aug. 2, 1707.

Breunel, Anne (probably intended for Anne Bruneau, which see). Wife of Louis Normand.

Brisset, Bernard. Came May 18, 1708.

Bruneau, Anne. Wife of Louis Normand dit Labrierre.

Brunet, Francois dit Bourbonnais. Came May 30, 1705.

Buet, Rene. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Butard, ——. Wife of ——. She died Dec. 10, 1724, aged 30 to 32 years.

Cabazier, Charles. Voyageur, came June 13, 1707.

Cadieu, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Cadillac. See De La Mothe.

Cailliomeau, Louis. Came Sept. 6, 1710. This name probably should be Gaiannaux.

Camerand. See Chouet.

Campau, Jacques (the name is also spelled Campo, Campos, Campeau and Campot). Blacksmith, came Sept. 3, 1708. His wife was Cecile Catin. He was buried May 14, 1751, aged 78 years.

Campau, Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Campau, Jeanne. Daughter of Michel Campau.

Campau Louis, son of Jacques Campau. He married Marie Louise Robert, widow of Francois Pelletier, and daughter of Pierre Robert and Angelique Tholme, Jan. 7, 1724.

Campau, Marguerite, daughter of Michel Campau, baptized March 2, 1708.

Campau, Marie Angelique. Daughter of Jacques Campau, born Dec. 6, 1708.

Campau, Michel. Farmer, came Aug. 3, 1707. His wife was Jeanne Masse. He died before 1740.

Campau, Paul Alexander. Son of Michel Campau, born Sept. 14, 1709. He married Charlotte Sloneau, daughter of Mathurin Sloneau and Marie Charlotte Dubeau, Feb. 15, 1740.

Cardinal, Jacques. Voyageur, came Oct. 13, 1707. Died May 17, 1724, aged 84 years.

Cardinal, Jacques. Son of the preceding, came Oct. 13, 1707. His wife was Jeanne Dugue, and third son Pierre, was baptized Aug. 30, 1729. They already had a daughter Jeanne, who acted as god-mother to the infant Pierre. Jeanne married Laurent Parent.

Cardinal, Marie. Wife of Jacques Hubert dit la Croix, with her husband and one child, she set out from Montreal for Detroit, May 22, 1709.

Cardinal, Pierre. Came Sept. 6, 1708.

Caron, Vital. Came April 2, 1707.

Carriere, Antoine, (he signs the church record Hantoine Carrier, in 1710.) His parents, Andre Carriere and Cecile Jannot, lived on St. Paul street, Montreal. He first came to Detroit, April 11, 1707, as a voyageur.

Casse, (called St. Aubin), Jean. This is a good illustration of the change of French names. The family name of Casse has been so completely lost through years of use of the nick name, that this man's descendants are universally known as St. Aubin, and there are many of them in Detroit today. I have grouped them all under this name. Jean Casse's wife was Marie Louise Gautier. He died Feb. 27, 1759, aged more than 100 years.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Jean Baptiste. Died of smallpox Feb. 25, 1733, aged 27 or 28 years. A great many people died in the winter of 1733-4, of smallpox. Jean Baptiste St. Aubin married Magdeleine Pruneau, daughter of Jean Pruneau and Suzanne Bellanger, of Quebec, July 31, 1731.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Jacques, son of Jean Casse and Marie Louise Gautier. He married Catherine Vien, daughter of Ignace Vien and Angelique Du Sable, Dec. 27, 1745.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Marie Anne, daughter of Jean (or Jean Baptiste) Casse and Marie Louise Gautier. Born Oct. 5, 1710. She married Charles Chauvin (blacksmith), Oct. 27, 1726. There was another daughter, Agathe Casse, who married Nicolas Campau, dit Niagara.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Pierre, son of Jean Casre. Baptized May 2, 1709.

Catin, Cecile, wife of Jacques Campau. She died before 1732. Her daughter, Marianne Campau, married Joseph Bondy July 28, 1732, and her son, Claude, married Catherine Casse (dit St. Aubin), daughter of Jean Casse, Jan. 22, 1742.

Catinet, Joseph, of Pointe aux Tremble, near Montreal, was in Detroit July 26, 1707.

Chabot, Joseph.

Channet (called Camirand), Andre, sergeant of the troops in this country. His wife was Anne Pastorel.

Channet (called Camirand), Andre, son of above. Born May 13, 1708.

Channet (called Camirand), Pierre, son of Andre senior. Born about April, 1710.

Chanteloup, Pierre, farmer. Acted as godfather to Jean Bombardier, July 18, 1707. His wife came to Detroit April 11, 1707.

Charbonneau, Joseph. Came April 25, 1707.

Charbonneau, Michel. Came April 17, 1707. Brother of above.

Charnic. See du Charnic.

Charlet, Francois. His wife was Marthe Forstier.

Charlet, Pierre, son of above. Born May 3, 1709.

Charon, Charles.

Charpentier, Jean. Came April 2, 1707.

Chauvillon, Charlotte, wife of Jean Barthe, dit Belleville.

Chauvin, Gilles, voyageur. Came June 7, 1706. He and Louis Normand were in partnership.

Chauvin, Jean Baptiste, voyageur. Came June 14, 1706.

Chauvin, Louis, voyageur. Came June 14, 1706. Brother of above.

Cheauonvouzon, Louis Antoine, surnamed Quarante Sols, chief of the Huron nation. He was a very prominent and influential Indian and frequent reference is made to him, both by Cadillac and by the Jesuit fathers at Mackinac. He was baptized April 27, 1707, having as a godfather Cadillac himself. He died the same day, aged 48 years.

Chesne, Charles, son of Pierre Chesne and Louise Batty. He married Catherine Sauvage, daughter of Jacques Sauvage and Marie Catherine Rieul, Jan. 18, 1722.

Chesne, Francois, voyageur. Came Sept. 25, 1707.

Chesne, Marie, daughter of Pierre Chesne and Jeanne Bailli. She married (first) Jacques Montboef, dit Godfroy, and after his death she married Jacques Boutin, Sept. 16, 1733. There is a record that Marie Chesne died Feb. 13, 1738. From Marie Chesne have descended all the Godfroys of French extraction in and about Detroit.

Chesne, Pierre. Came June 13, 1707. His wife was Jeanne Bailli, she died in 1709, she is sometimes referred to as Louise Batty. The name has been slightly changed in spelling, though not in sound, by his descendants. He was the Detroit ancestor of the present Chene family.

Chesne, Pierre. Son of above Pierre Chesne. He had two wives; first on May 25, 1728, he married Marie Magdeline Roy, a daughter of Pierre Roy; this marriage took place at Fort. St. Phillipe, village of the Miamis. She died of smallpox Oct. 20, 1732, and in 1736 he married his second wife, Louise Barrois, daughter of Francois Lothenane dit Barrois, and Marianne Sauvage. Pierre Chesne was an interpreter and sometimes called La Butte. He was born about 1697.

Chevalier, Jean. Came May 30, 1705. There is a record that Angelique Chevalier, daughter of the late Jean Baptiste Chevalier and the late Francoise Alavoine of this parish married Antoine Nicolas Lauzon, Feb. 27, 1769.

Chevalier, Michel. Came Oct. 10, 1710.

Chevalier, Paul. Came July 12, 1702. His wife was Agathe Campau. They lived on St. Paul street, Montreal. Paul, Jean and Robert were brothers.

Chevalier, Pierre.

Chevalier, Robert. Came June 15, 1706.

Chornic, Jean Baptiste.

Chouet, (called Camerand) Andre.

Chouet, Louis, called Lagiroflee. Soldier in company of Cabana, captain. He was son of Jean Chouet and Marie Magdeleine Magdile. Before setting out for Detroit, May 25, 1701, he gave his property, in event of his death, to Mary Magdeleine Delisle.

Cirier, Martin. Son of Nicolas Cirier and Catherine Prevoost of the parish of St. Denis d' Argenteuil at Paris. He was a soldier of the company de la Champagne and married Ann Bone, June 12, 1710. I find the name spelled Sirier sometimes, but Martin could write and he spelled it Cirier.

Clairambaut, Francois, esquire sieur D'Aigremont. Commissary of the marine in Canada, sub-delegate of the Intendant and deputy appointed to visit the most advanced posts. He visited Detroit, Fort Pontchartrain, July 29, 1708

Cobtron, see Marsac.

Colin Michel, called Laliberte. Came in 1706.

Collet, Pierre, voyageur. Came June 15, 1706.

Compein (called L'Esperance) Bonaventure. Soldier and farmer. His wife was Catherine Laplante.

Compein (called L'Esperance), Marie Catherine, daughter of Bonaventure, above. She was baptized Nov. 14, 1707.

Complen (called L'Esperance) Pierre, Son of Bonaventure, above. Was born Jan. 12, 1710.

Cornic, Pierre.

Corson, Pierre, called St. Jean. Came May 30, 1705, as bargeman.

Cosset, Francois. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Couk, Marguerite, wife of Francois Masse. Marguerite Couque is referred to as the wife of the late Jean Fafare, and Marguerite Kouque, as the wife of sieur Masse. These may be the same party.

Coup, Isabelle. Came to Detroit as early as April 27, 1704.

Coutant (called Rancontre) Francois Judile, a soldier. His wife was Marie Agathe Bluteau, above.

Coutant, Jean. A soldier of the company of Lorimier. He was buried Sept. 17, 1732, aged 65 years.

Coutant (called Rancontre), Louis. Son of Francois, above, baptized Feb. 13, 1708.

Couturier, Joseph, voyageur. Came Sept. 6, 1710.

Cusson, Ange. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Cusson, Charles, voyageur. Came April 20, 1709.

Cusson, Jean Baptiste. Came April 11, 1707.

Cusson, Joseph. Came Oct. 7, 1706.

Cusson, Nicolas, voyageur. Came Oct. 7, 1706.

Dandonneau, Marie Francoise, Wife of the second marriage of Henry Belisle, surgeon. Died, May 8, 1711, aged about 50 years.

Dardennes, Toussainte. Came May 12, 1707.

D'Argenteuil (probably Pierre), gardener.

David, Therese, Wife of Jacob de Marsac de Cobtrion dit Desrochers. She was buried Sept. 24, 1727, aged 66 years.

Daze, Charles. Came July 16, 1702.

De Broyeux, Francois. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

De Couague, Charles Jr. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

De Gaigne, Jacques Jr., 18 years old. Agreed to work for Jerome Merilat, dit Sansquartier for two years

De La Forest, Francois, Captain of the troops of the marine in this country. Like many other French words the letter s is frequently dropped in writing this name, so that we find it De La Foret.

De La March, Dominique. Recollect priest, lecturer in theology, pastor of Ste. Anne's.

De La Marque, Marianne. Wife of Alphonse de Tonty. She was the widow of Jean Baptiste Nolan, and had a daughter, Louise Suzanne Nolan, who married Charles Francois de Mezieres, esquire, sieur de Leperueinche, Dec. 17, 1725.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Antoine. The founder of Detroit. He was born in 1661, the son of Jean de la Mothe and Jeanne de Malenfant. Married Marie Therese Guyon, daughter of Denis Guyon at Quebec, June 27, 1687.

In simply mentioning Antoine De La Mothe Cadillac as a citizen of Detroit, justice is not done to the name of a man who played a most important part in the history of America.

The birthplace and the exact date of the birth of Cadillac are unknown. He was probably born in 1661, in that part of France called Gascony. He had a good education and it is not at all improbable that he studied for the priesthood. Perhaps he studied with the Jesuits, and then left their order, for he certainly displayed a thorough hatred of them through his life. He entered the army at an early age and came to America to seek his fortune in 1683. He first settled at Port Royal (Annapolis, seaport of Nova Scotia) and built a house, which was destroyed by the English under Sir William Phips in 1690. At Port Royal he fell in with Francois Guyon, who was a privateer. In his employment with Guyon he became familiar with the coast line of America and with the details of American cities.

HE TRAVELED FAR.

One of the earliest maps of Boston, made by the noted map maker, Franquelin, bears upon its face the approval of Cadillac as to its correctness, and a report of Cadillac in 1691, warns French navigators of the dangers of Hell Gate at New York.

His services as a pilot were sought after and his opinions regarding the English Atlantic settlements and the best mode of attacking them were so highly praised that the king (Louis

XIV.) sent for him from America on more than one occasion.

In 1687 he married Marie Therese Guyon, the niece of his employer, at Quebec.

In 1688 he received a grant of a large tract of land in Maine, which was then French territory, and also the island of Mount Desert, which his descendants again obtained in later years. His wife and family were living at Port Royal at the time of its capture by the English in 1690 and the destruction of his house left him penniless.

He had been a lieutenant in the troops, and in 1693, was created a captain with the rank of ensign in the navy. Frontenac had been reappointed to his old position as governor of New France and a close friendship sprang up between himself and Cadillac that lasted during their joint lives.

In 1694 he was appointed commandant of Mackinac. Here he remained four years, spending the time in looking after the Indians and quarreling with the Jesuits. He seems to have taken great delight in bothering the Jesuit priests and exciting them with his sharp letters. His writings are voluminous, and not always truthful.

RUM VS. RELIGION.

Great attention was paid to his reports by the colonial office, but an occasional remark by the minister of foreign affairs that "He lies like a Gascon," written on the margin of a report of his, gives one clearly to understand that his sentiments were taken with a grain of allowance.

One of the most important questions of discussion with the Jesuits was the sale of eau de vie (rum) to the Indians. The priests alleged that it was unnecessary traffic and injurious to the morals of the savages, while Cadillac maintained that the use of the stimulant in restricted quantities was necessary, and moreover, that if the savages did not get what they wanted at Mackinac they would go to the English to obtain it, and if they went to the English they might be converted to protestantism, and thereby their souls would be lost, and he asked the missionaries which was the most profitable thing to do. Looking to the welfare of the Indian alone, was it better to be occasionally drunk on French brandy and his soul saved or occasionally drunk on English rum and he eternally lost?

THE FOUNDER OF DETROIT.

He was not exclusively occupied with his attention to his missionary friends, but found time to explore the country and ascertain a better place than Mackinac for building a fort which would resist the encroachments of the English. He resigned his position as commandant in 1698 and went to Europe to place before the king a proposition for founding a colony on the Detroit river. His plan was approved and he returned in 1700 with authority to proceed on his errand as soon as possible. I have, before this, given a short account of his journey to Detroit and the founding of Fort Pontchartrain, which was the original and official name of this post, on the 24th of July, 1701. The unpublished accounts of what Cadillac found here are interesting in the extreme.

It was the paradise of North America. Here he founded a colony protected by a garrison of farmer soldiers, and his colony was a success as long as he remained, but he was removed from his command in 1710 and appointed governor of Louisiana. He reached his new post in 1713 and remained until 1717, when he returned to France. He was subsequently appointed governor of Castel Sarrazin, in France, and retained that office until his death.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Antoine. Ensign in the troops, son of Cadillac.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Antoine (or Jean Antoine), son of Cadillac. Buried in the church, April 9, 1709, aged 2 years 2½ months. I think this is the same as Jean Antoine, who was baptized Jan. 19, 1707.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Francois. Son of Cadillac. Born March 29, 1709.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Jacques. Son of Cadillac. Cadet in the troops of the detachment of marines.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Marie Agatha. Daughter of Cadillac. Born, Dec. 28, 1707.

De La Mothe Cadillac, Rene Louis. Son of Cadillac. Born, March 17, 1710.

De Launay, Joseph. Came Sept. 27, 1710.

De L'Halle, Constantin. Recollect priest. killed in 1723, his body was exhumed, transported and reburied within the church of St. Anne.

De Liard, see Bouet.

De Lisle, see Bienvenue.

De Lorme, see Fafard.

Delpeche, Francois. Came May 17, 1710.

Demers, Maximilien. Came May 30, 1705.

Deniau Cherubin. Recollect priest, pastor of St. Anne's.

Deniau, Rene. Died July, 1730, aged 80 years.

De Paris, Denis.

Depre (or Despre), Joseph.

De Ranee, see Le Gautier.

Derruon. Pierre, esquire sieur de Budemond.

Dervisseau, Julien. Lieutenant in the troops.

Desautels, Gilbert, dit Lapolnte. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Des Jardins, Suzanne. Wife of Pierre La Fleur.

Desloriers, Jean Baptiste. Jean Baptiste du Fournel dit Desloriers, aged 50 years, was buried Oct. 31, 1731.

Desmoulins, Charlotte, dit Phills, daughter of Jacques Desmoulins and Charlotte Sanarias, was born Nov. 22, 1709, and died Jan. 8, 1710.

Desmoulins, Jacques dit Phills. His wife was Charlotte Sanarias.

Desmoulins, Jacques. Son of the above Jacques Desmoulins; was baptized March 30, 1708 and died April 14, 1728.

Desmoulins, Marie. Wife of Blaise Sontieureuse.

Desnoyers, Joseph. Married Magdeleine Robert, daughter of Pierre Robert and Angelique Tholme.

Desrocher, or Derocher, see Marsac.

Desrosiers, Jean Morean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Desroziers, Joseph, called Dutremble. Came Sept. 27, 1710.

Devinon, Pierre, esquire sieur de Budemond. Lieutenant in the troops.

Dizier, Michel, called Sans Quartier. Farmer.

Dounay, Anthoine. Came in the summer of 1704.

Dubor, Dominique. Came as voyageur, June 12, 1706.

Du Chornic, Louis.

Ducharme, Joseph. Came Sept. 10, 1710.

Ducharme, Louis. Voyageur, brother of Joseph. Came May 22, 1709.

Duclos, Jacques. A soldier.

Dumouchel, Francoise. Daughter of Bernard Dumouchel dit Laroche. On the sixth day of July 1703 she agreed to go to Detroit to serve Mr. and Madam De La Mothe (Cadillac), for two years at 180 livres per year.

Dumouchel, Paul. Came May 15, 1708.

Duffant, Marie Renie.

Du Figuier, (see Fournier).

Dufresne, Antoine.

Dufresne, Marie Magdelaine. Wife of Pierre Mallet.

Dumay, Jacques. Jacques Pierre Danau esquire sieur de Muy. Chevalier of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, died May 20, 1758.

Dumay, Marguerite. Wife of Andre Bombardier.

Dumouche, Francoise.

Dupuis Antoine, (called Beauregard). Farmer. His wife was Marie Anne Marandeau.

Dupuis, Antoine. Son of above, was born June 21, 1707.

Dupuis, Joseph, Son of Antoine, Sr., above, was born Jan 31, 1709.

Dupuis, Marie Anne. Daughter of Antoine above, was born March 13, 1710.

Duroy, Pierre, dit Deslauriers. Soldier in the company of De La Mothe Cadillac. He came April 11, 1707. He is also mentioned as a soldier in the company of Dulhud. (Duluth).

Du Vestin, Salomon Joseph.

Durand (or Durant) Jean. Farmer.

Dussault, Marie. Wife of Jacques Langlois.

Du Sault, Marie, fille mineure. The parents' names are not given.

Dutan, Jacques. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Dutremble, Jean Baptiste. Came in 1706.

Dutremble, Joseph. Came Sept. 28, 1706.

Du Vant, called La Franchise, Pierre. Soldier de la Compagnie de la Corne.

Esteve, Pierre. Called La Jeunesse. Farmer, see Stebre.

Estienne, Estienne. Brother of Dominique Estienne. Came April 26, 1707.

Estienne, Jacques. Came April 13, 1707 with a canoe load of merchandise for Sieur de Bourmont, ensign in the troops.

Fafard, Charles, dit Delorme. He came April 25, 1707. His father was Francois Fafard, dit Delorme. The descendants from this pioneer are universally called Delorme.

Fafard, Etienne dit Delorme. Son of Francois Fafard, born Sept. 24, 1708.

Fafard, Francois, dit Delorme. Farmer and interpreter for the king. He died Jan. 28, 1734, aged about 80 years. His first wife was Magdeleine Marguerite Jobin and his second wife was Barbe Loisel.

Fafard, Joseph. Son of Francois, above. He was born Sept. 24, 1708. He and Etienne were twins.

Fafard, Magdeleine. Daughter of Francois Fafard, above. She married Prudent Robert, Jan. 7, 1711.

Fafard, Marie Joseph, dit Delorme, daughter of Francois above, married Pierre Auclair, of Charlesburg.

Fafard, Marie Marguerite, daughter of Francois above. Married Michel Bissilon, June 30, 1710.

Fafard, Marguerite, daughter of Jean Fafard and Marguerite Couck. Married Jean Baptiste Turpin, May 5, 1710.

Fanereau, Charles, voyageur. Lived in Detroit Oct. 6, 1708.

Farland, Jean.

Faverau, Pierre. Called La Grandeur.

Fayolet, Pierre, called St. Pierre. A soldier of the company of St. Ours. He was in Detroit May 2, 1709, and acted as godfather to Pierre Casse.

Ferron, Antoine, farmer.

Filiatreau, Jacques, voyageur. Came May 30, 1705. He lived at Lachine and never resided in Detroit, though he came here several times.

Filie, Michel, esquire, sieur de Therigo, sergeant of troops. Commissioned to bear letters from France to Cadillac. He came Oct. 16, 1706.

Fortier, Catherine, wife of Gabriel Baudreau. They were married at Montreal Aug. 15, 1701.

Fortier, Marthe (or Marie Marthe), wife of Francois Chalut dit Chanteloup. They were married in Montreal June 10, 1706. She was a sister of Catherine above.

Fournier, Louis Rene, sieur du Figuier, ensign in the troops of this country, performing the functions of major of the troops in Fort Pontchartrain. He was born at Montreal May 14, 1673. His mother's name was Helene Du Figuier.

Frapier, Marie Magdeleine, wife of Pierre Stebre, dit la Jeunesse. They were married at Quebec April 12, 1706, and she died at Detroit, Dec. 22, 1759, aged 80 years.

Frigon, Francois. He was born in Normandy and came to Detroit May 30, 1705.

Frotant, Angelique. Probably Proteau, which see.

Gagnier, Jacques. Came May 17, 1710.

Galarneau, Louise, wife of Francois Marquet. She was born Feb. 2, 1690, and married April 26, 1706.

Gallien, Marie Anne. Her first husband was Jerome (Hieronymus) Marillac, dit Sansquartier, and her second husband was Bernard Phillipe.

Gareau (or Garro or Garraud), Dominique. Came Oct. 3, 1708. He was born at Boucherville Jan. 13, 1684.

Gareau, Jean, came Sept. 25, 1707. He was born at Boucherville Nov. 3, 1679.

Gareau, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was born at Boucherville May 1, 1673. He lived in St. Paul street, Montreal. He was sometimes called St. Onge, Saintonge, or Xaintonge. The three Gareaus were brothers. Dominique and Jean never resided in Detroit, but came here together in 1708 and at various other times. Pierre owned a house and lot in the village, conveyed to him by the name of Xaintonge.

Gatineau, Louis, sieur Duplessis, came to Detroit June 21, 1706. He was married Jan. 22, 1710, to Jeanne Lemoyne, at Batiscan. He is described as a merchant of Quebec.

Gaultier, Marie Louise, wife of Jean Casse, called St. Aubin.

Gaultier (or Gautier), Pierre, dit Saguinoira. Came May 22, 1709. He was born March 25, 1669, and died July 25, 1754.

Gazaille, Jean, dit St. Germain. Came Sept. 10, 1710.

Germain, Alexis, son of Robert Germain, a native of the parish of Pointe aux Tremble, near Quebec, and came to Detroit May 19, 1708. He was killed May 19, 1712, by a gunshot given by the Ytaganish Indians, with whom he was fighting at Detroit.

Germain, Robert. Came May 18, 1708. He

was a brother of Alexis. Born at Quebec Sept. 8, 1680.

Gervais, Etienne de Bourguion. July 10, 1703, he agreed to go to Detroit as a hunter.

Giard, Anthoine. Came May 30, 1705. He was born at Montreal Aug. 31, 1661.

Giard, Gabriel. He was born at Montreal April 15, 1675, and came to Detroit as a bargeman May 30, 1705. He was married three times.

Giguiere, Jean Baptiste, being about to set out for Detroit June 28, 1701, he made a present of his property in the event of his death to Louise Maignan. He returned to Montreal and married this lady Jan. 22, 1704. He died April 18, 1750.

Giguiere, Robert, brother of Jean Baptiste. He was born Jan. 28, 1663, and died at Montreal Dec. 10, 1711.

Girardin, Joseph. Came Aug. 26, 1708.

Gode (or Gaude), Jacques. Came as voyageur Nov. 6, 1707. He was married Aug. 15, 1743, to Marie Louise St. Martin, of Detroit.

Godefroy (or Godfroy), Jacques, dit Mauboeuf. Paul Chevalier and Jacques Godefroy, dit Mauboeuf, voyageurs, and Joseph Senecal, toolmaker and voyageur, formed a partnership Sept. 10, 1710, to carry on the business of trading at Detroit. To this business Chevalier contributed 255 livres, Senecal 165 livres and Godefroy 43 livres and two guns. The partnership was to continue for two years, and if any of the partners died in that time another man would be taken in to fill the place. Gains and losses to be shared equally. Godfroy married Marie Anne Chesne at Detroit Nov. 20, 1730.

Gognet, Francois, called Sansoucy, a soldier

Gouin, Joseph, came May 19, 1708, bringing to Dufiguier, major of Fort Pontchartrain, two barrels of rum (eau de vie), one barrel of salt, two barrels of powder, a small parcel of goods and two bags of bullets in all, 400 pounds.

Gouin, Louis. Came May 18, 1708.

Gourion (or Gorion), Antoine son of Jean Baptiste Gourion. Born April 26, 1708.

Courion, Jean Baptiste, sergeant in the troops at Detroit (1708), and farmer. His wife was Louise Chaudillon, though it is given as Louise Rhodillon in St. Anne's church.

Gros, Jean Baptiste. Born at Montreal Dec. 22, 1673.

Guillemot, Marie Chretienne. Came to Detroit in the employ of Cadillac Aug. 30, 1710. She was a daughter of Jacques Francois Guillemot and Madeleine Dupont. Was born at Montreal Sept. 29, 1695. Returned there and married Jean Jacquiers, Nov. 24, 1715, and died Nov. 23, 1734.

Guillet, Paul, merchant. Born 1690. Died in Montreal June 7, 1753. His full name seems to have been Paul Alexander Guillet. He acted as godfather to Paul Alexander Campau Sept. 14, 1709, and the infant appears to have been named after him. He came to Detroit May 19, 1708.

Gustineau, Louis.

Guyon, Jean, dit Lachapelle. Came Sept. 6, 1710.

Guyon, Marie Therese, wife of Antoine De La Mothe Cadillac. Born at Quebec April 9, 1671. Married June 25, 1687. (The first woman in Detroit).

Hamelin, Rene, voyageur. Came May 18, 1710.

Hemart (or Haimart), Marie Louise. Born Dec. 1, 1709. Daughter of Pierre Haimart.

Hemart (or Haimart), Pierre, farmer and soldier in the company of Mr. Lorimier. Married Marie Laland June 12, 1706.

The records of St. Anne contain a certificate of baptism, Oct. 20, 1707, of Francois Delainart, son of Pierre Delainart and Marie Fillastreau. Fr. Tanguay concludes that Hemart and Delainart are the same.

Henaux, Pierre, Sr., came to Detroit Sept. 27, 1708. Perhaps the name should be Hunault.

Henaux, Pierre, Jr. Came Sept. 27, 1708.

Hubert, Ignace, called Lacroix. Came April 20, 1709. He was a son of Ignace Hubert, of Boucherville.

Hubert, Jacques, dit Lacroix, Sr. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Hubert, Jacques, dit Lacroix. Came in 1706. He was born May 12, 1684, and married Sept. 5, 1705, to Marie Cardinal. He was a son of Jacques Hubert, of Montreal.

Hubert, Louis, voyageur, came Nov. 6, 1707. He was a brother of Ignace, above.

Hubert, Pierre, son of Jacques Hubert, dit la Croix, and Marie Cardinal. Was born at Detroit Dec. 11, 1709, and died Oct. 11, 1724. The family is generally known by the name of Lacroix.

Hubert, Pierre, voyageur. Came Aug. 11, 1710. He was a brother of Jacques Hubert, above, and married Francoise Cardinal.

Huet, Pierre, called Duluth, came April 2, 1707. He was a son of Joseph Huet, born Nov. 12, 1682.

Janot, Pierre. Came May 22, 1709, nephew of Robert Janot.

Janot, Robert (called La Chapelle). Came April 2, 1707. He was uncle to Joseph Bazinet, dit Tourblanche.

Jardis, Francois, called Rencontre. Farmer and lot owner in the village.

Jean, Raymond, dit Godon. Contracted Oct. 12, 1703, to go to Detroit as a farmer.

Jobin, Marie Magdeleine, wife of Francois Fafart, dit Delorme, interpreter. She died at Detroit, Jan. 29, 1711, aged about 40 years.

Joly, Jean, surnamed Jolycoeur, sergeant in the troops. He was a native of the parish of Bury, diocese of Xaintes. Died at Detroit, Mich., March 20, 1707, and buried in the cemetery of Fort Pontchartrain.

Juillet, Jean, called Laplante. Came to Detroit as a bargeman May 30, 1705.

Labatier (or Abatis) Jean. Owned a lot in the village. Jean Labattu, Cochant, dit Champagne, a soldier. Died in Detroit, Feb. 15, 1712. I think this is the same person.

Laberge, Guillaume, entered into an agreement Oct. 12, 1703, to come to Detroit as a farmer.

Labrierre, see Normand.

La Ferriere, Genevieve, wife of Francois Bienvenue, dit Delisle. Born Dec. 8, 1679. She died before 1709. Her family name was Charon.

Lafleur, see Poirier.

Laferte, see Levoir.

La Forest, Marguerite, wife of Antoine Levroir. She was born in 1689 and married Antoine Terou Laferte (Levroir) June 10, 1706.

La Grandeur, see Faverau.

La Jeunesse, see Stebre.

La Jeunesse, Etienne, came in 1706.

Lalande, Marie, wife of Pierre Hemart.

Laloire, ——, farmer. There is nothing from which the first name can be determined. Tanguay gives the name Allaire as the same surname as this.

Lamareux, Francois, sieur de St. Germain. Came April 2, 1707. Francois Lamoureux, dit St. Germain, a merchant, was born 1675 and died Dec. 30, 1740.

La Marque, Pierre, called Sans Soucy. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He lived at Laprairie, and his wife was Magdeleine Delisle.

La Montagne, called Pierre Mouet.

La Mothe, Magdalaine, Cadillac's daughter.

La Mothe, Marie Therese, daughter of Cadillac, baptized Feb. 2, 1704.

Lamy, Joseph. Set out from Montreal Sept. 6, 1708, to conduct Madam Ranez to Detroit. Lamy drifted farther west to Kaskaskia, where he became one of the trustees of the church in 1717, and was killed by the Indians in 1725.

Lanarias, Charlotte, probably Sanarias, which see.

Langlois, Antoine, son of Jacques Langlois. Born Nov. 13, 1709, buried July 26, 1710, at Detroit, aged about 8½ months.

Langlois, Jacques, farmer and blacksmith. Born in 1676; he married Marie Dussault. He resided for a time in Detroit, but returned to Montreal, and died there Jan. 30, 1733.

Langlois, Paul, farmer. Came April 11, 1707.

Laplante, Catherine. Wife of Bonaventure Compien dit L'Esperance. Her name, according to the record of baptisms in Sorel, where she was born, was Marie Catherine Badaillac, dit Laplante, and she was married at Montreal, June 10, 1716.

Laporte, see Aguenet.

Laprairie, Julien. Came Aug. 19, 1710.

Larivee, Jean. Came May 19, 1708. He was born Aug. 12, 1667, and died Sept. 9, 1729.

L'arramee—Tanguay mentions a man by this name, his first name being unknown, who died in Montreal, Sept. 23, 1736.

La Salle, Jean. A soldier of the company of Duluth, native of Peyrourade in Bearn, died Jan. 24, 1707. His body was buried in the church of the fort Pontchartrain du Detroit.

Laude, Joseph, dit Mata. Agreed to go to Detroit as farmer, Oct. 12, 1703.

La Vallee, Jean Baptiste. Soldier of the company of the Cassagne, native of Quintin, bishoprick of St. Brieux, in Brittany. Died Nov. 19, 1711, aged about 30 years.

Lavois, Jacques, dit St. Amour. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. He was a soldier of the company of La Corne, and married Marie Barbe Cesar, at Montreal, Nov. 28, 1711.

Leboeuf, Pierre. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. His wife was Marie Francoise Auzon. He never came here to reside permanently, but some of his children did.

Le Coutant, dit Rencontre, Magdelaine, daughter of Francois Judit Le Coutant, dit Rencontre, born Feb. 5, 1710.

L'Ecuyer, Pierre.

Leduc, Jean Baptiste, son of Jean Leduc, of Montreal. Came Oct. 11, 1710. He was born in 1684, and married Marie Catherine Descary.

Lefebvre, Louis, Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His father was Jean Baptist Lefebvre, of Montreal.

Lefebvre, Nicholas. Came May 22, 1709, voyageur. (His father, Jean Baptiste Lefebvre, lived on St. Peter's river.)

Legautier, Francois, sieur de la Vallee Ranee (see Deranee). Lieutenant in the detachment of marines in Canada. Came Oct. 2, 1709; died Nov. 12, 1710.

Leger, Bourgery. Came April 2, 1707.

Leger, called Parisien, Marie Jeanne, daughter of Pierre Leger, baptized Dec. 15, 1707.

Leger (dit Parisien), Marie Jeanne, daughter of Pierre Leger, dit Parisien. Born Aug. 9, 1709. These two children of the same parents bear the same name. There is no record of the death of either.

Leger (called Parisien), Pierre, farmer. His wife was Jeanne Boilard, to whom he was married at Quebec, May 15, 1706.

Legros, Jean, called Laviolette, born Dec. 22, 1673. He married Marie Buet, Nov. 24, 1700. He came to Detroit Sept. 6, 1708.

Legros, Nicolas. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was an elder brother of Jean Legros, and married Marie Charlotte Turpin.

Le Maire, Charles, dit St. Germain, voyageur. Came Oct. 17, 1707, with a canoe of merchandise for the Recollet fathers. He was a captain of militia in Lachine. Born 1676, died 1751.

Le May, Michel. Agreed April 25, 1701, to come to Detroit as a brigadier (foreman of a boat's crew).

Le Mire, Jean, de Marsolet. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His mother's name was Louise Marsolet.

Le Moyne Alexis, sieur de Moniere. Came before Oct. 2, 1709.

Le Moine, Jacques, merchant. Came June 21, 1706.

Le Moine, Rene, merchant.

Le Moyne, Marie, wife of Francois Bienvenue, dit Delisle, married in 1708. He had another (first) wife, Genevieve Laferiere. Marie Le Moyne, aged about 70 years, was buried Sept. 6, 1764.

Le Moyne, Rene (or Rene Alexander). Came Oct. 12, 1706. Born in 1668, he married Marie Renee Le Boulanger, Feb. 2, 1712.

Le Page, Marie. Born in Montreal, 1684, she married June 12, 1706, at Montreal, Francois Beauceron. The date of his death is not given, but it was before 1709, for she is mentioned at that time as a widow. She is the only woman to whom any land was conveyed by Cadillac, within the palisades. Her husband was living at this time (1707), but she was probably separated from him, as he is not mentioned. She must have subsequently married Joseph Vaudry, for they are called legal husband and wife in 1720, and had a child, Mary Magdeleine. It is with the name of Marie Lepage that the first great social scandal of Detroit is connected. The pages of St. Anne's record with glaring plainness the false step of this unfortunate woman. It is impossible to tell, now, the penance that she performed in atonement for her wrong-doing. The church record, possibly, operated to deter others from following in her path. Whether the man lost prestige or not is unknown, but we do know that he left Detroit about the time this affair became public, and returned to Montreal, where he was appointed the trusted agent and attorney for Cadillac, and retained that position as long as Cadillac remained at Detroit.

Le Page, Marie Therese, daughter of Marie Le Page, widow of the late Bausseron and of sieur Grandmenil, commis du Magazin. Born July 24, 1709. This is the first record of an illegitimate child. It is not profitable to trace the descent of this unfortunate.

Lescuyer, Anthoine, came May 28, 1708. He was born in Montreal May 28, 1688.

Lescuyer, Jean and Paul, brothers. Came May 29, 1706. They, with Jacques Minuille, brought 10 cattle and 3 horses from Fort Frontenac to Detroit, for Cadillac. They were sons of Pierre Lescuyer, born in Montreal June 16, 1681, and Feb. 15, 1676, respectively.

Lescuyer, Pierre. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. He was a brother of the three preceding persons. Born in Montreal Feb. 9, 1674.

Lesieur, Jean Baptiste, d.t Callot. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

L'Esperance, see Complen.

L'Espine, Marie Magdelaine, wife of Jo-

seph Parent. She was the daughter of Jacques Marette, dit L'Espine.

L'Esquier, Pierre, voyageur.

Le Tendre, Adele Genevieve, probably came to Detroit with Mme. La Mothe Cadillac's wife, as she was god-mother to his daughter, Marie Therese, in 1704.

Leveille, Laurent, came June 15, 1706. He was a Panis Indian.

Levroir, called Laferte, Antoine. The name should be Antoine Theroux. He was born in 1677 and died Feb. 22, 1759.

Levroir, Pierre, son of Antoine Levroir, above, baptized Feb. 22, 1707. He married Rose Poitevin in 1733.

L'Isle, see Bienvenue.

Livernois, Francis. Francois Benoit, dit Livernois, came to Detroit, April 2, 1707. He married Angelique Chagnon in 1710. The name Livernois is quite common in Detroit now.

Loisel, Barbe, wife of Francois Legautier, Esq., sieur de Lavallee Ranee, lieutenant. Set out to go to her said husband at Detroit, Sept. 6, 1708. She was married three times. First to Pierre Roussel, then to Legautier, and, in 1713, to Francois Fafard, dit DeLorme.

Loranger, Joseph, dit Rivard, dit La Jauge, see Rivard.

Loranger, Nicholas, dit Rivard, voyageur, see Rivard.

Lubert, Jacques.

Magdeleyne, Jean Baptiste, dit Ladouceur, came in 1706. He was born in Montreal in 1681 and married Elizabeth Millet.

Magnant, Antoine, dit L'Esperance. He lived within the palisades and owned a lot there, but he is described in Ste. Anne's records as a citizen of Montreal (1708), a voyageur at present at Fort Pontchartrain. He was born Sept. 24, 1682, at Laprairie.

Magnan, Gaspard, dit Champagne, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. He married Magdeleine Marsille, Feb. 9, 1699.

Maionce, Marguerite.

Maisme, Marie.

Major, see Bourrin.

Malet, Antoine, son of Pierre Malet. Baptized Aug. 16, 1706. He married Therese Maillhot, Aug. 11, 1730.

Mallet, Francois, son of Pierre Mallet, born July 28, 1708.

Mallet, Pierre, farmer, voyageur, citizen of Detroit. His wife was Magdeleine Dufresne, widow of Francois Pelletier.

Mallet, Rene, voyageur, came Nov. 6, 1707. Apparently he was the father of Pierre Mallet, and died at Montreal, Oct. 24, 1716.

Marces, Francois, a soldier.

Marcil, Andre, came May 17, 1710.

Marendeau, Marianne (or Maranda) wife of Antoine Dupuis, dit Beauregard. They were married at Montreal, June 9, 1706, and she returned and died there Jan. 8, 1730.

Marquet, Francois. His wife was Louise Galerneau, and they were married April 26, 1706, at Quebec. They left Detroit some time before Cadillac did, and their third child, Pierre, was born in Montreal in 1710.

Marquet, Joseph, son of Francois Marquet, born May 22, 1707.

Marquet, Marguerite, daughter of Francois Marquet, born March 20, 1709.

De Marsac de Cobtrou, Francois, son of Jacob de Marsac. Baptized Oct. 22, 1706. He married Therese Cecile Campau in 1734, and one of their daughters, Marie Louise, became the wife of Robert Navarre in 1762.

De Marsac de Cobtrion, Jacques, son of Jacob de Marsac. Born Nov. 7, 1707; died Dec. 24, 1745, aged about 40 years. The priest guessed at his age, but the record shows that he was 38 years of age.

De Marsac de Cobtrion, Jacob, sieur Desrochers, sergeant in a company in the detachment of marines. His wife was Therese David. He was buried April 27, 1747, aged 80 years. Their son Jacques married Marie Anne Chapoton, daughter of Jean Chapoton, surgeon, Jan. 25, 1745.

Marsac, Jerome.

Marsille, Andre.

Martiac, Jerome, dit Sansquartier (or Sanscartier), son of Maurice Martiac and Jeanne Damiot, of the parish of Chaubouline, bishopric of Brives in Limozin. Died June 10, 1709. He was a soldier of Detroit. His wife was Marie Anne Gallien. His name is sometimes spelled Marillac.

Martiac, Magdeliene, daughter of Hierosmes Martiac (called Sansquartier). Baptized Jan. 22, 1707.

Martiac (called Sans Quartier), Pierre Jerome, son of Jerome Martiac dit Sans Quartier. Baptized March 28, 1709.

Martin Claude, came June 15, 1706.

Masse, Francois, farmer. His wife was Marguerite Couk, called Lafleur. They

were married in 1702. She had been the widow of Jean Fafard.

Masse, Jeanne, became the wife of Michel Campau in 1696. She had a daughter Marie Anne Campau, who became the wife of Pierre Belleperche.

Masse, Michel. He lived in Montreal but visited Detroit.

Maurisseau, Jacques, voyageur. Came June 15, 1706.

Maurivan, Jacques. Came 1706.

Maurivan, Louis. Came 1706.

Melain, Marie, wife of Blaise Fondurose, a soldier. She was born in 1689, married June 9, 1706, lived in Detroit several years, but returned to Montreal and died there April 26, 1713.

Merssan, Jean, dit Lapierre. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. He is mentioned as a Marguillier, or church trustee, probably of Quebec, by Tanguay. He was born in 1685 and died April 16, 1718.

Michel, Jean, agreed to go to Detroit as farmer, Oct. 12, 1703. He probably lived at St. Francois du Lac.

Mikitchia, Joseph. Slave belonging to Michel Bezailln: Teste Plate (flat head). Baptized, March 10, 1710, 16 years old.

Milhet (or Millet), Nicolas, came March 3, 1709. Jan. 4, 1712, he married Louise Cardinal.

Minville (or Miville), Jacques. Came May 29, 1706. He, with Paul and Jean Lescuyer, brought 10 cattle and 3 horses from Fort Frontenac to Detroit, for Cadillac. His wife was Catherine Lescuyer, of Montreal.

Moitie, Marie, wife of Pierre Chesne, according to Tanguay, married Oct. 9, 1700, at Montreal. She was widow of Jean Magnan, and died Dec. 31, 1727.

Monet, Pierre, see La Montagne.

Monjeau, Gabriel, voyageur. Came April 23, 1710. He was born in 1690 and died April 27, 1718. He did not stop long in Detroit.

Montell, Rene, dit Sansremission. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He did not remain long in Detroit. He died at St. Ours, March 4, 1724.

Montfort, ——, soldier of the company of Desgly; found dead in the woods at the foot of a tree, buried Dec. 21, 1709. I cannot find the first name of this soldier.

Morand, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He died at Batiscan, June 11, 1729.

Moreau, Joseph. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His home was at Batiscan.

Morin, Moise, dit Chesnevert. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was a sergeant in the company of Beaucour. Born in Poitiers, Poitou. He married Magdeleine Monin, Nov. 26, 1707, and made his home at Quebec.

Morisseau, Louis. Came June 15, 1706.

Morisseau, Pierre. Came as bargeman May, 30, 1705.

Normand, Angelique, daughter of Louis Normand, dit Labriere. Born June 20, 1707. She was married three times; to Jean De Launay, to Jacques Beda, and to Jacques Hermier.

Normand, Louis, dit Labriere, tool maker. Came June 7, 1706, to work at his trade. He was born at Quebec, Oct. 13, 1680. Married Anne Bruneau, May 29, 1701, and died July 15, 1729.

Normand (called La Briere), Marie Therese, daughter of Louis Normand, dit La Briere, born at Detroit, Sept. 1, 1705.

Ouabankikow, Marguerite, an Indian of the Miami tribe, the wife of Pierre Roy. There is no record of her marriage, though the priest called her a legal wife. She died of smallpox, Oct. 31, 1732. She had six children, baptized in the church at Detroit.

Pachot, Jean Marie Daniel. He was born July 30, 1694, and was the son of Francois Vienay Pachot and Charlotte Francoise Juchereau. After his father's death, his mother married Francois de la Forest, a lieutenant under Cadillac, and afterwards commandant at Detroit.

Paquet, Jean. He was born in 1682, and Feb. 20, 1708, married Marie Charland.

Parent, Joseph, farmer, master toolmaker and brewer. His wife was Magdeleine Marette, whom he married at Beauport, Jan. 31, 1690. On the 18th of March, 1706, he agreed with Cadillac to go to Detroit to work at his trade for three years.

Parent, Marie, daughter of Joseph Parent and Magdeleine Marette, dit Lespine, baptized Jan. 21, 1709.

Parent, Marie Madelaine, daughter of Joseph, above, born at Beauport, Dec. 15, 1692, and came with her parents to Detroit between the years 1706 and 1709.

Parent, Marguerite, daughter of Joseph, above, born at Montreal, July 7, 1698.

Parisien (see Leger).

Pastorelle, Anne, wife of Andre Channet, dit Camfraud. He was her second husband.

Her first husband was Jean Moriceau.

Patenostre, Jean, of St. Lambert, came Sept. 6, 1710.

Pepin, Jean, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.

Perrin, Mathieu, dit Garaho (or Garaut), came Oct. 2, 1709. He was taken prisoner by the Iroquois while taking goods to Fort Frontenac in 1688. The next year Jeanne Pilet was also taken prisoner by the Iroquois. They met as prisoners, and forming an attachment for each other, were married by Fr. Miller, Jesuit, who was also a captive of the Iroquois at that time.

Petit, Marie, wife of Pierre Poirier, dit Lafleur. Tanguay gives the name as Marie Clemence Maupetit.

Philippes, dit Belhumeur, Bernard, sergeant in the troops of the department of marines. He married Anne Gallien, widow of Jerome Marillac. They had both lived in Detroit, but were married in Montreal, March 18, 1712.

Picard, Alexis, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. Brother of Francois, mentioned below. He was born in 1681, and died at Montreal, April 22, 1745.

Picard, Francois, came as voyageur, May 30, 1705. His wife was Anne Farreau. He died at Detroit, Oct. 7, 1728.

Pichet, Pierre. He was born in 1674, married Marie Ann Sylvester at Pointe aux Trembles in 1697 and died Aug. 12, 1712, at Cap Sante.

Pineau, Thomas, dit Bundemour, sergeant in troops of the marine. He was stationed in Detroit in 1709.

THE VILLAGE DIRECTORY.

The following is the concluding installment of the directory of Cadillac's village:

Pinet, Yves, gunsmith, came to Detroit, March 9, 1706, to work at his trade for three years.

Plante, Zacharie.

Poirier (called La Fleur), Angelique, daughter of Pierre Poirier, dit Lafleur, born March 10, 1709.

Poirier, Pierre Rene, dit Lafleur, farmer and soldier. He married Marie Clemence Maupetit, June 12, 1707. Her name is given in Ste. Anne's records as Marie Petit.

Pothier, Toussaint, dit La Verdure, voyageur, came Sept. 22, 1707. He lived in Montreal, was born in 1675 and married Marguerite Thunay.

Primo, Jean, dit La ———, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. The record from which this name is taken has been partly destroyed by time and a portion of the name obliterated.

Proteau, Angelique, wife of Etienne Boutron, dit Major. After the death of Boutron she married Pierre Germain and died in 1754.

Quarante, Sols, or Quarant Sous, see Cheanouvouzon.

Quesnel, Jacques and Jean, brothers, voyageurs, came May 18, 1710. They were sons of Oliver Quesnel. Jean was born at Montreal and Jacques at Lachine. They lived at Lachine.

Quilenchive. I cannot make out this name. I think it to be an Indian name, though I may be as sadly mistaken as I was with the name of Xaintonge.

Rabillard, Nicolas, came Sept. 27, 1706.

Reaume, Charles, voyageur, came Sept. 28, 1710. The only person I can find bearing this name was a son of Rene Reaume, born April 17, 1688, at Charlesbourg.

Renaud, Charles, esquire, sieur Dubuisson, lieutenant of a company and commandant at Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit, in the absence of M. de Laforest. When Cadillac left Detroit, Laforest agreed to take his place here at once, but was taken sick and Dubuisson was sent here temporarily to hold it until Laforest's recovery.

Renaud, Louis, dit Duval, came June 16, 1706. Antoine Renaud married Francoise Duval. The records do not contain the name of Louis as one of their children, but because he was called Duval, I conclude he was a child of this marriage.

Rencontre, or Rancontre, see Jardis.

Reneau, Laurent, voyageur, came May 23, 1710. He married Anne Guyon at St. Augustin in 1695, and after 1698 he lived at Montreal.

Rhodillon, Louise, wife of Jean Baptiste Gouriou. This name should be Chaudillon. She was born Jan. 11, 1682, at Sorel, and married Gouriou June 22, 1701.

Richard Claude, came April 2, 1707. The only Claude Richard I find was a son of Guillaume Richard, born Jan. 30, 1684. I find no record of his marriage or death.

Richard, Jean, farmer and interpreter for the king. His wife was Marie Anne Ladecouverte (or Yon). Being dangerously wounded July 7, 1708, he states that he left with his sister, Mme. Duplessis, 720 livres, for which he holds her note, now in the hands of his cousin, Jacques Lang-

lois, and he wishes the sum paid to Pierre Roy. He did not die, however, until several years later.

Rivard, Claude, sieur de Lorange. Agreed with the company of the colony of Canada, represented by Francoise Dumontier, of Montreal, and Etienne Volland de Radisson, of Detroit, to go to Detroit, July 10, 1703, as an interpreter.

Rivard, Francois, dit Montendre, came May 19, 1708.

Rivard, Robert, came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Rivard, Joseph, dit Montendre, came May 18, 1708.

Rivard, Mathurin, came May 18, 1708.

Rivard, Nicolas, born in 1686. He married Marie Joseph Raux in 1724, and died in 1729.

Rivard, Pierre, dit Lanouette, voyageur, came Sept. 6, 1710. He was born in 1686 and married Marie Anne Caillia, June 9, 1721.

Rivard, Robert, came May 18, 1708. Robert, Joseph, Mathurin, Claude, and Francois were sons of Robert Rivard, of Batiscan.

Robert, Francois, came in 1706. He was born in 1678, married Marie Lanctot in 1712 and died in 1756.

Robert, Joseph, born in 1674, married in 1701, and died in 1748. He and Francois and Pierre were brothers. He came to Detroit May 12, 1707.

Robert, Pierre, dit Lafontaine. He moved to Detroit May 19, 1708, with his wife and children. He had been there before, having come June 15, 1706, in charge of a canoe of merchandise. His wife was Angelique Ptolomee (or Tholme). After he died his widow married Guillaume Bouche, Aug. 16, 1716. At the marriage of his son Antoine in 1743, this Pierre Robert is referred to as "the late Antoine Robert." The son married Marie Louise Becmond.

Robert, Prudent, came Aug. 12, 1710. He was another brother of Pierre Robert, all being sons of Louis Robert. His wife, whom he married at Detroit, Jan. 7, 1711, was Magdeleine Fafard, dit Delorme.

Rose, Nicolas, soldier. He was born in 1674 and died in 1746. His wife was Marie Anne Prudhomme.

Roy, Edmond, dit Chatellereau. Agreed to come to Detroit July 28, 1704, as brigadier (foreman of a boat's crew). He was to receive 300 livres for the trip. While he never resided in Detroit, his son Joseph did, and was married here in 1736 to Magdeleine Perthuis.

Roy, Louis, came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was born in 1659 and died before 1713.

Roy, Marguerite, daughter of Pierre Roy. Baptized April 27, 1704.

Roy, Marie Louise, daughter of Pierre Roy. She was baptized May 19, 1708, married Alexis De Ruisseau, and died in childbirth, Dec. 3, 1735, aged about 31 years.

Roy, Marie Magdeleine, daughter of Pierre Roy, born May 25, 1710. She married Pierre Chesne dit La Butte, and died Oct. 20, 1732, aged 22 years.

Roy, Pierre. It has been stated that this was the first man at Detroit and that he lived with the Indians in this neighborhood before Cadillac came. His wife was Marguerite Ouabankikoue, a Miami Indian.

Roy, Pierre, son of Pierre Roy. Baptized April 21, 1706.

Roze, Francois and Nicholas, brothers. Came April 13, 1709. They were sons of Noel Rose and born at Quebec. The name should be Rose.

Ruiet, Jean, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.

Ruiet, Rene, came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

St. Aubin, Jean, corporal in the garrison. Came to Detroit with Pierre Duroy, April 11, 1707. See Casse.

St. Marie, Francois Marie, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.

St. Yves, Joseph, came Aug. 11, 1710 (engage). He was born in 1692 and consequently only 18 years of age. The family name was St. Ange, dit Hogue.

St. Yves, Pierre, voyageur. Came April 18, 1710. Elder brother of the preceding. He was born in 1682.

Salomon. I think this name is a mistake, though it occurs in one of Cadillac's conveyances. I think he intended Salomon Joseph Du Vestin.

Sanaria, Charlotte, wife of Jacques Desmoulins dit Philis. She was born in 1679 and died May 5, 1744 at Detroit.

Sansquartier, see Martiac.

Sarrazin, Joseph, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. Son of Nicholas Sarrazin, born Feb. 24, 1681.

Sarrazin, Nicholas, brother of above, born Jan. 12, 1686.

Sarrazin, Pierre, came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. Another brother of above, born Feb. 26, 1684.

Senecal, Adrien, came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Senecal, Joseph, came Sept. 10, 1710. He was born in 1674 and died Feb. 28, 1736. His wife was Louise Bareau, or Barros.

Serond (called L'Eveille). Jean.

Simon, Gilbert, or Simon Sanspeur, dit Gilbert, sergeant in the troops. His wife was Marguerite Le Page. She died July 20, 1730, at Detroit.

Simon (probably Pierre), came May 18, 1708. The first name of this party has been destroyed in the notarial record, but his residence is given as Pointe aux Tremble, and the only Simon living at that place at this time was Pierre.

Sirier, Martin, see Cirier.

Slave (Panis) Jacques. A little slave of Pierre Roy, aged 7 or 8 years.

Slave. The first mention of negroes is two of Louis Campau's in 1736.

Slave (Panisse), Marie Jeanne, belonging to Jean Richard, voyageur, aged about 15 years.

Slave (Panis, Indian), belonging to Mr. Moynier, aged 12 to 14 years, died Nov. 16, 1710.

Slave (Panis, Indian), Joseph, called Escabia. Belonging to Joseph Parent, aged 21 or 22 years. He died Jan. 21, 1710.

Sontieureuse, Blaise; lately employed as a soldier in the company of De La Mothe, (1707). Tanguay says his name should be Fondurose.

Sontieureuse, Marie, daughter of Blaise Sontieureuse. Born May 14, 1707.

Stebre, dit La Jeunesse, Agathe, daughter of Pierre Stebre, dit La Jeunesse. Born Feb. 14, 1710, died Feb. 21, 1710.

Stebre, dit La Jeunesse, ———, daughter of Joseph Nicolas Stebre. Born Jan. 12, 1711. The priest has omitted to give the first name of the infant. On Jan. 19, 1733, they buried Angelique Esteve, wife of Pierre Belleperche, aged about 21 years. She died of smallpox. This may be the one born Jan. 12, 1711.

Stebre, called La Jeunesse, Pierre, late a soldier. Died July 16, 1736. His wife was Marie Magdeleine Frappier. She died Dec. 22, 1759, aged 80 years. He was at Montreal Aug. 27, 1767. He had a daughter Marguerite, who married Jean Chapoton, surgeon of the fort, July 16, 1720. She died July 7, 1753, aged 45 years. The name is sometimes given us as Esteve, and Steve, but the descendants are now usually called La Jeunesse.

Stebre, dit La Jeunesse, Pierre, son of Pierre Stebre. Born May 1, 1708. Married (as Steve) Marie Desforges, widow of Francois Picard, Oct. 24, 1729. Died March 24, 1731.

Surgere, Blaise, farmer. I find frequent mention of this name, but cannot identify its possessor, unless it is the same as Sontieureuse, above.

Susart, called Delorme, Francois, (probably an error on the part of the priest in writing the name of Fafard), dit Delorme.

Tabaux, Jacques. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.

Tabaux, Jean, Jr. Came May 15, 1708. He married Angelique Brunet in 1710 and died at Montreal in 1728.

Tacet, Pierre.

Tesee Francois.

Tessier, Paul. He was a resident of Montreal. Came to Detroit in 1708, and was here again in 1710, when he witnessed the marriage of Martin Cirier and Marie Anne Bone.

Tessier, Antoine, farmer.

Tetreau, Jean Baptiste, Joseph, and Laurent, brothers. Came April 21, 1707.

Tholme, Angelique, wife of Pierre Robert. This name is given as Angelique Dalonne, and in some places as Ptolme, by Tanguay. She was buried in 1744, aged about 65 years. She married Guillaume Bouche, after the death of Robert.

Tichenet, Pierre.

Tonty, Alphonse, captain of a company, aged 68 years. Buried Nov. 10, 1727. His first wife was Anne Picote. She and Cadillac's wife were the first women in Detroit. She died in 1714, and in 1717 he married Marianne Delamarque, widow of Jean Baptiste Nolan. Tonty was an Italian, and frequent references are made to the Italian schemer.

Tousignan, Michel, dit LePointe. Came Sept. 6, 1710. He was the son of Pierre Tousignan, and married Marie Catherine Lemay.

Trottier, Alexis. Came May 18, 1708. Son of Antoine Trottier and brother of Paul, below. He married Marie Louise Roy at Detroit, Jan. 6, 1735, and after her death married Catherine Godfroy.

Trottier, Gabriel, dit St. Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Trottier, Joseph, dit Desruisseaux. Came

on Oct. 17, 1708. He was a brother of Michel, and born in 1668. His wife was Francoise Cuillerier.

Trottier, Michel, sieur de Beaubien. Came May 18, 1708. He was born in 1675 and married Agnes Godfroy in 1700.

Trottier, Paul (brother of Joseph). Came Oct. 17, 1708.

Truteau, Jean Baptiste, married Magdeleine Parant Sept. 1, 1715, and died in 1754.

Truteau, Joseph, carpenter, brother of Jean Baptiste. They came together April 2, 1707. Joseph died at Montreal in 1745.

Tuffe, called du Fresne, Antoine. The only person I can find bearing this name was born in Montreal Aug. 21, 1677.

Tune, Magdeleine, wife of Pierre Malet. This name should be Du Fresne. She was born in 1669 and married Francois Pelletier. After his death she married Pierre Malet, or Maillet.

Turpin, Jean Baptiste, son of Alexander Turpin and Charlotte Beauvais, of Montreal. Married Marguerite Fafard, daughter of the late Jean Fafard, and Marguerite Conique, of this parish and new colony, May 5, 1710.

Turpin, Jean Baptiste, voyageur. Came Oct. 2, 1709.

Turpin, Jean Baptiste, son of Jean Baptiste Turpin. Born Dec. 14, 1710.

Vaudry, Etienne, voyageur. Came Aug. 2, 1707. Born at Three Rivers, Oct. 27, 1685.

Vaudry, Jacques. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. Born in 1670, and died in 1743.

Vaudry, Joseph. Came Aug. 19, 1710. He was born in 1687, and married Marguerite Lepage, widow of Simon Gilbert. Etienne, Jacques and Joseph were brothers and sons of Jacques Vaudry and Jeanne Renault.

Veron, Etienne, de Grandmeuil, appointed attorney in fact for Cadillac, July 26, 1709. His name has been mentioned above. He was born in 1649, married Marie Moral, dit Montendre, and died at Three Rivers May 18, 1721. He lived several years at Detroit, and was a man of considerable importance, having charge of the public storehouse and acting as amanuensis for Cadillac.

Vien, Ignace. Came as voyageur, June 12, 1706. Died 1751, aged 80 years.

Villain, Pierre, soldier in company of De Le Mothe.

Volant, Jean Francois, sieur de Fosseneuve. Agreed to go to Detroit to serve as a hunter, July 10, 1703. He was born in 1670, and married Marguerite Godfroy June 6, 1701.

Xaintonge, ——. When I first encountered this name it stood alone without any connecting names. I concluded it was an Indian name and so stated. Further investigation has led me to conclude that I was greatly mistaken, and that the individual was named Pierre Gareau, dit St. Onge, and that the name St. Onge has been gradually changed to Saintonge and from that to Xaintonge.

Zerbain, Pierre, dit St. Pierre, a soldier.

FR. DENISSEN'S LETTER.

Detroit, Mich., Nov. 9th, 1896.

Dear Friend Burton:

I have read with relish your series of articles and the Directory of Detroit from 1701 to 1710, as published in the Sunday News-Tribune.

The many new facts you furnish on that interesting period of Detroit's infancy must be very acceptable to every lover of local history.

No directory can be complete without a full and well authenticated list of all the officers, soldiers and civilians who arrived here with Cadillac on the 24th of July, 1701. In your indefatigable researches, I hope you will yet find all the names of the whole party who founded Fort Pontchartrain at the Detroit. You have the taste, the means, and the ability to bring to light that coveted treasure. Cadillac must have made a record of all those engaged by him to undertake that difficult expedition from Montreal to Detroit, to establish that well-planned post for the French Government. He always gave such an elaborate account of himself, his doings, his surroundings and his plans; certainly he did not omit to record the full particulars of the greatest achievement of his military life, the founding of the most important post in the Northwest of America, a work entirely his own, in conception and execution. He made his preparations in Montreal; there he selected with care men who could stand the hardships of this arduous task. He must have had a list of his soldiers, for all had to be paid regularly; the civilians who accompanied him must have made agreements with their leader, for they were in quest of gain. Written contracts signed before a notary were the fashion in those days.

Cadillac and his party took the Ottawa route to Detroit. The French voyageurs of those times had calculated with precision the difficulties of their trips. Coming west, they favored the Ottawa route; going east, they preferred traveling by the Niagara Portage; this gave them as much as possible the benefit of the water-current.

Cadillac arrived in the Detroit River and selected his landing place on the 24th of July, 1701. Immediately the party went to work to pro-

cure shelter for themselves. On the second day after their landing, the 26th of July, on the feast of St. Ann, the priests, the government chaplains of the party, held religious services for the new settlers, and mass was celebrated for the first time at Detroit; the incipient church was dedicated, on account of the feast of the day, to St. Ann, and St. Ann's church has remained to this day the mother church of Detroit.

There is no account that any white man had his abode at the Detroit River previous to Cadillac. You proved satisfactorily that neither Peter Roy nor Joseph Parent could have been here before July of 1701. There is no ground for the belief that a Francis Peltier preceded Cadillac. It could not have been Francis Peltier, the son of Francis Peltier and Margaret Magdelene Morisseau, for he died in Lower Canada before 1698; his widow, Magdelene Thunay, dit Dufresne, married again at Montreal on the 9th of January, 1698, Peter Maillet. His son, John Francis Peltier, born at Sorel, Lower Canada, August 15, 1691, came to Detroit with his stepfather's family about the year 1705-06, and married there March 25, 1718, Mary Louisa Robert.

Peter Roy married, probably in 1703, a Miamis Indian, and took up his residence in the village of the Miamis, who had been induced by Cadillac to come and settle near Detroit.

Cadillac might have wished that the men of his party marry Indian women, but Peter Roy is about the only one who did so. Those vigorous pioneers did not shape their love affairs on the utilitarian plan. The young men grew lonesome in this wilderness, and their thoughts would wander back to the girls they left behind them. Permission was readily granted to any one who wanted to return to Lower Canada to secure a bride. According as these treasures were imported to Detroit, the place grew more civilized, and the inhabitants felt more at home and contented. The French of Detroit and vicinity never intermarried with the Indians to any great extent; there have been a few exceptional cases, but such marriages were rare, and, because so rare, they were all the more noticed. No bride suits the French heart as well as the frank, modest, polite, charming French maiden, who has the desirable faculty to grace her home as a queen and bring happiness to her surroundings. In the eighteenth century the girls married very young. The marriage bond was considered indissoluble; divorces were unknown; scandalous infidelities, at least on the part of the women, seem not to have occurred. Marriages were contracted with all the precautions with which the Church guards that sacred contract. The settlers of the outposts were in constant communication with the people of Lower Canada. They knew each other and their marriage relations. It was almost impossible for a man to abandon his lawful wife in Lower Canada and marry surreptitiously in Detroit or vicinity.

The French home with its contentedness, made the maintenance of Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit feasible. Detroit owes much to the French mothers of the eighteenth century.

Your directory shows what share they had during the first ten years of our city's existence.

Allow me to make a few interpolations in your great work. Aymard seems to me to be the correct spelling for Hemart or Maimart. The name is given also as Adhemard and Haymard. Peter Aymard married at Lachine, June 12, 1706, Mary Ann Lalande, dit Filiastreau, born at Lachine, February 18, 1685, daughter of Stephen Lalande and Nicole Filiastreau. Peter Aymard returned to Lachine in 1710-11.

Julian Bariteau, dit Lamarche, did not remain in Detroit. His grandson, Charles Bariteau, dit Lamarche, born at Longueuil, Lower Canada, May 26, 1743, settled at Detroit, and married there January 7, 1783, Jane Bernard. He moved to Sandwich, Ont., a few years later, where he died September 24, 1810. The family of Bariteau, dit Lamarche, and their descendants remained in the vicinity of Sandwich even to the present day.

The brothers Bazinet, Peter and Joseph, did not take up their residence in Detroit. Joseph's grandson moved to Detroit and married there July 12, 1784, Mary Louisa Meloche.

Peter's grandson, John Louis Bazinet, moved with his family to Sandwich, Ont. Some of his descendants moved to Detroit; many of them are residing at present at Mt. Clemens, at the Clinton River, near New Baltimore, and near St. Clair River.

Francis Bienvenu, dit Delisle, came to Detroit with his family before March, 1704. His son Joseph was born at Detroit March 5, 1704, and twelve of his fourteen children were born at Detroit. Tanguay states that his son Alexis Bienvenu, dit Delisle, was born at Detroit in 1701. I do not see what evidence Tanguay could have for this assertion. The registers of Detroit for 1701-02-03 were burned. I suppose this is a misprint in Tanguay. The same author gives a son Anthony, from the first marriage, who married at Kaskakia, June 3, 1726, Frances Rabut. This Anthony must have been a resident of Detroit.

Andrew Bombardier was born in the City of Lille, Belgium. He left Detroit after 1709, and remained in Lower Canada. His grandson, Philip Bombardier, dit Labombarde, moved with his family to Sandwich, Ont., about 1788, where his descendants can be found at the present day.

Charles Cabassier came to Detroit on business. His son, Joseph Cabassier, born at Montreal May 2, 1722, came to Detroit and married

there January 10, 1752, Angelica Bienvenu, dit Delisle. His descendants are still in Detroit or vicinity.

Anthony Campau, born at Montreal January 1, 1702; Michael Campau, born at Montreal January 22, 1706, children of Michael Campau, were residents of Detroit.

Henry Campau, born at Montreal December 3, 1704, and Mary Ann Cecilia Campau, born at Montreal June 21, 1707, children of James Campau, were residents of Detroit before 1710.

Paul Dumouchel was in Detroit on business and did not settle there. His son, Paul Dumouchel, born at Montreal January 11, 1717, came to Detroit, married there January 26, 1749, Jane Chapoton, daughter of Dr. John Chapoton, and Mary Magdelene Esteve. His wife died the next year, and he returned to Lower Canada. Louis Vital Dumouchel, born at Montreal December 12, 1745, grandson of Paul Dumouchel, Sr., came to Sandwich, Ont., and married there November 22, 1773, Magdelene Gouyou. They are the ancestors of all the Dumouchels of the vicinity of Sandwich and Amherstburg.

John Le Duc, who paid a visit to Detroit October 11, 1710, moved there with his family about the year 1732. Many of his descendants reside in Detroit and vicinity at the present day.

Rene Maillet was a brother of Peter Maillet. He did not remain in Detroit; some of his grandchildren settled there.

John Francis Peltier, born at Sorel, Lower Canada August 15, 1691, was a citizen of Detroit. His father, Francis Peltier, died in Lower Canada before 1698. Young John Francis came to Detroit, with his stepfather's family, about the year 1705-06. He married at Detroit, Mary Louisa Robert, daughter of Peter Robert and Angelica Ptolomee. He was buried there, about the year 1723. He is the forefather of the numerous Peltiers of Detroit, Monroe, Toledo, Mt. Clemens, Port Huron, etc. He is the great-great-great-grandfather of Priscilla Mary Ann Peltier, wife of Alexander Chapoton, our well-known contractor.

Mary Peltier, born in 1697, sister of John Francis Peltier, also came to Detroit with her stepfather.

Mary Louisa Robert, born at Lachine December 15, 1698, came to Detroit May 19, 1708, with her parents, Peter Robert and Angelica Ptolome. She married John Francis Peltier. After his death she married again, at Detroit, January 7, 1725, John Louis Campau. She was buried at Detroit April 2, 1776. She is the great-great-grandmother of Daniel J. Campau, of our city. Peter Robert, born at Lachine November 5, 1704, is a brother of above Mary Louisa. He is the ancestor of many of the Roberts of Monroe and vicinity.

Robert Reaume, brother of Charles Reaume, together with Joseph Trotier, dit Desruisseaux, and Toussaint Pothier, dit Laverdure, was

engaged on the 5th of September, 1701, to escort Mrs. De Lamothe Cadillac, Mrs. Alphonse Tonti and their children from Montreal to Detroit, and at the same time to accompany Francis Mary Picote de Belestre and equipages on the same trip. Mrs. Cadillac's cousin, Mary Guyon, was married to Rene Reaume, brother of this Robert. Robert Reaume did not settle in Detroit. His sons, Hyacinthe and Peter Reaume, became residents of Detroit after their marriage, and are the forefathers of all the Reaumes of this vicinity.

Alphonse Tonti, Baron of Paludy, born in 1659, came to Canada in the military service of the French Government. In 1687, he passed through the Detroit River, having orders to join Daniel Duluth de Greyzelon, who then built a stockade, called Fort St. Joseph, at the mouth of Lake Huron, where now is Fort Gratiot. This palisade was destroyed a year later. Alphonse Tonti accompanied Cadillac, as captain of the military expedition, to establish Fort Pontchartrain at the Detroit, in 1701. Jealous of Cadillac, and encouraged by his (Cadillac's) enemies, he plotted the failure and destruction of the post at Detroit. This led to the incendiary fire in the fort of Detroit, in the latter part of 1703, when the church, the house of the Recolets and the parish records were burned. History sustained an irreparable loss by the burning of those registers, containing the births, marriages, deaths and historical notes of the three infantile years of Detroit. Beyond doubt, the baptism of Tonti's daughter Teresa was registered in those books. This Teresa Tonti is the first child born in Detroit, of whom we have any certainty. Tonti married at Montreal February 17, 1689, Mary Ann Picote de Belestre, born at Montreal February 9, 1673, daughter of Peter Picote de Belestre and Mary Pars. Mary Ann Picote de Belestre was buried at Montreal Sept. 11, 1714. Alphonse Tonti married again at Montreal May 3, 1717, Mary Ann La Marque. Alphonse Tonti was commandant of Fort Pontchartrain of Detroit, from 1720 to 1727, in which year he died, and was buried at Detroit November 10. The following Tonti children must have resided at Detroit previous to 1710. Philip Tonti, born at Montreal September 30, 1689; Mary Frances Tonti, born at Montreal October 19, 1690, became a nun of the Congregation of Notre Dame, by the name of Sister St. Anthony; she was buried at Montreal June 14, 1748; Alphonse Tonti, born at Montreal October 30, 1691; Mary Helena Tonti, born at Montreal February 22, 1693; Louis Tonti, born at Montreal February 25, 1694, was buried there December 12, 1715; Henry Hector Tonti, born at Montreal December 21, 1695; Charles Henry Tonti, born at Montreal May 13, 1697, became governor of Fort St. Louis; Claude Joseph Tonti, born at Montreal August 18, 1700; Teresa Tonti, born at Detroit, in 1703.

Tuffe, dit Dufresne, Antoine. This name is also found as Tuve.

The correct name is Thunay, dit Dufresne, Anthony, born in 1680, son of Felix Thunay, dit Dufresne and Isabelle Lefebvre. Anthony's sister, Magdelene, married Francis Peltier, and, after his death, Peter Maillet. His other sister, Margaret, married Toussaint Pothier, dit Laverdure, who escorted Mrs. Cadillac and Mrs. Tonti to Detroit.

In one of your articles you say: "I confess that I do not understand how the old French names are made up." The various changes of French names are truly a puzzle to the student of genealogy. The following explanations and illustrations, I think, will account for most of those innovations:

1. The early colonists of Lower Canada obtained from the French Government grants of extensive tracts of land. These grants were executed in the mediaeval phraseology used under the feudal system of holding estate. The settlers assuming a resemblance between their holdings and the domains of the French barons and "seigneurs," called their large, wild farms by certain titles, and affixed the same to their own family names, in imitation of the European nobility. In some cases these titles were confirmed by the government. The owners of these vast estates considered themselves seigneurs of this new country, and were very proud of the affixes to their names. In business transactions these additions to their signatures were used with all their flourishes. At baptisms the title had to be entered in the parish registers; at marriages the affix to the old family name sounded high both for bride and groom in the verbose marriage contract; respectability was increased by the presence of many witnesses with titled names. In this manner the owners of large estates in Lower Canada, at a certain period of the seventeenth century, looked upon themselves and upon each other as a quasi-nobility. Their children naturally assumed those titles and often thought more of the affixes than of their own family names. Feudalism was about dead, and fast dying in Europe in those days, and therefore could not gain foothold in America. In the eighteenth century we do not find new titles originating; still the old ones remained. The grandchildren and great-grandchildren of these titled pioneers often discarded the old family name and were known only by the new title. Hence the new names that the genealogist has to contend with. As an illustration, take the Trotier family. The Trotiers of America all descend from Julius Trotier, born in 1590, in the parish of St. Martin, in the Town of Igé, in the province of Perche, France. He, seemingly a common citizen, came with his family to Canada about the year 1645. His children married in Canada, and, in the course of time, had large families. They obtained extensive estates and were very lavish in originating titles for the same. In a few years we find Trotier Sieur des Ruisseaux, Trotier Seigneur de

l'Isle Perrot, Trotier Sieur de Beaubien, Trotier Seigneur de la Riviere du Loup, Trotier Seigneur de l'Isle aux Herons, Trotier Sieur des Aulniers, Trotier de la Bissonniere, Trotier dit Desrivieres, Trotier de Bellecour, Trotier de Valcour, etc. Many of these Trotiers gradually dropped the family name and signed only the assumed title. Hence we have the families of Beaubien, Desruisseaux, Desaulniers, Bellecour, Labissonniere, Desrivieres, Devalcour, etc. All these trace to a common ancestor, Julius Trotier.

2. Another cause of the change of French names was the custom so prevalent in former times, of nicknaming themselves and others. This was done sometimes to discern one family from another of the same name; as a family Baron was nicknamed Lupien—Baron dit Lupien —to distinguish it from other Baron families, Lupien being the Christian name of the ancestor of that family in this country. At other occasions the nickname originated through family pride; when a member was distinguished, that branch of a family would annex the Christian name of the hero, or, if a woman, the family name of the revered heroine. In this manner some Cuilleriers lost their own name through the marriage of John Cuillerier with Mary Catherine Trotier de Beaubien; this lady was distinguished through her family title of Beaubien, and after John Cuillerier's death, by becoming the wife of Francis Picote de Belestre, an officer of Fort Pontchartrain. On this account her children from the first marriage signed themselves Cuillerier dit Beaubien, and in later generations Cuillerier was dropped and nothing was left but Beaubien. These are the Beaubiens of our vicinity. Another instance of the same kind we find in the family of Leonard. Leonard Simon, born at Montreal, September 3, 1656, was considered by his descendants to have been a great man, consequently the family name became Simon dit Leonard; in time the old name Simon was dropped and Leonard became the family name. These Leonards we find in Monroe and vicinity in great abundance. Again families glorifying the section of country their forefathers came from, added to their names the province, city or town of their ancestor. In this manner the Sedilot family, who came from the City of Montreuil, in Picardy, France, became Sedilot dit Montreuil, and later on are simply Montreuil. So it was with Casse, who originated from the town of St. Aubin; they became Casse dit St. Aubin, and now are only St. Aubin. The same we find in Bourgeat, who came from the province of Provence; they adopted Bourgeat dit Provencal, and now are Provencal. We meet with the same case in the family of Lootman, who are of Holland origin, and moved from the Netherlands to the province of Berry, France; they became in Canada Lootman dit Barrois, later on in Detroit we find them as Barrois. The same is true of Toulouse,

Champagne, Gascon, Langounois, and many others. There are nicknames that originated from the peculiar circumstances of birth, like Nicolas Campau dit Niagara, who was born at the Portage of Niagara, when his parents were traveling from Detroit to Montreal. It happened, also, that nicknames were given by Indians, as Labadie dit Badichon, Peltier dit Antaya. Nicknames have also been given frivolously and would stick in future generations, as in the family of Poissant, sounding like Poisson (fish), by adding Lasaline (salt), Poissant dit Lasaline (saltfish). Another way of nicknaming was by adopting a peculiar Christian name by which a certain person was known in the community; so we find in the family of Le Tourneux, a Jean Baptiste Le Tourneux, who settled in Sandwich, opposite the Michigan Central Depot of present Detroit, about 110 years ago. He was known by everyone as Jeannette (the diminutive name of Jean); by incorrect spelling he became Janet and Janette, hence Le Tourneux dit Janette. His numerous descendants are called Janette. From him we have Janette street in Windsor, Ont., and farther west Janette's Creek, and Janette railroad station.

The most curious way of changing of names we find in the family of Ellair or Elaire. The common ancestor is Hilaire Sureau, who came from France and married at Quebec June 18, 1691. His son's name was Peter Sureau dit Blondin, who married at Montreal in 1723; and his children signed themselves Blondin dit Hilaire. Their descendants were named Hilaire, and in Detroit the name has been corrupted to Ellair.

Other modes might be mentioned. It is singular that scarcely a name has been adopted from the trade, occupation or profession that a person followed.

These nicknames are attached to the name proper by the word "dit," which might be rendered in our language by "called," "named," "namely," "to wit," "known as;" but "dit" is so idiomatically French that it can hardly be translated into English.

The suppression of "s" in some names, as from Chesne to Chene, Estienne to Etienne, is accounted for by the evolution of the French language from the old form to the modern way of spelling.

I hope, Mr. Burton, that my explanations may assist you in the great work, which seems to you a pleasure.

Yours sincerely,

CHRISTIAN DENISSEN,
Pastor of St. Charles', Detroit.

2850

Ontario Dept. 13 (Burt

...IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF CADILLAC...

An attempt to follow in the footsteps of Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac, the past summer, has presented to me many objects of interest and has taught me much that I did not before know concerning the founder of the city of Detroit.

Cadillac came to Mackinac (then Michillimackinac) as its commandant in 1694, and remained in charge of that post for three years. He then returned to Quebec and ultimately to Paris where, in the year 1700, he obtained permission to found the city of Detroit. He was well qualified for this task from his previous acquaintance with the country; and from his temperament and natural ability no better person could have been chosen to found a colony in the west. There was, up to this time, no French colony further west than Montreal, for all the western posts were military or religious establishments.

The great object in founding a colony was to establish something permanent that should serve as a protection for the French traders, and the missionaries among the Indians, and which would prevent the encroachments of the English on the territory which France claimed, but the boundaries of which were not well defined then and which were, in fact, never officially designated.

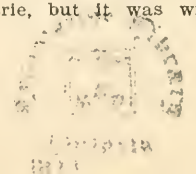
Although many explorers and travelers had passed through the Lakes Ontario and Erie and around the falls of Niagara, before the year 1701, and that pathway to the northwest was fairly well known, Cadillac was directed to take the Ottawa route rather than that of the lakes, on account of the hostility of the Iroquois Indians, who, at this time, were at war with the French. The Ottawa route, so-called, was up the Ottawa river from Montreal nearly to its source, thence across the long portage to Lake Nipissing, thence through Frenchman's river to the Georgian bay and, coasting the bay, in a southerly and westerly direction to Lake Huron, the River St. Clair, and so finally to the Detroit river. This course was long and tedious, for there were some 30 portages where the canoes and the luggage of the company had to be carried on the shoulders of the oarsmen and voyageurs but it was the route that had been traversed for many years by all those Frenchmen who had penetrated into the upper country.

My desire was to go to Mackinac and by easy stages reverse the footsteps of these voyageurs and pass through the Georgian bay, up Frenchman's river, through Lake Nipissing and down the Ottawa river to Montreal, but the limited time at my disposal would not permit a trip of this duration, and I planned a route more in consonance with that of established travel through the lakes and down the St. Lawrence.

The first object of real interest, as connected with Cadillac, is the Welland canal. Shortly after Cadillac had established Detroit, a peace with the Iroquois was entered into and the pathway around the falls of Niagara was opened for the second and all the succeeding trips to Detroit, and it is not recorded that the Ottawa route was thereafter ever used for those who came so far south as Detroit.

Cadillac's Foresight.

In one of the earliest of Cadillac's reports he advocates the building of a canal around Niagara falls. This was an extraordinary display of foresight. There had been, a few years before this, a sail vessel, the Griffon, on Lake Erie, but it was wrecked the same



year it was built and no other sail vessel was ever launched by the French on the upper lakes, nor was there any vessel of considerable size floated on these waters until some years after British occupation.

The Welland canal of today must have been as far beyond the conception of Cadillac in 1702 as the vessels of today exceed in size the Griffon that LaSalle launched near Buffalo in 1679.

This magnificent canal is a feat of engineering wonderful to the people of today, and I thought, as I wandered along its massive stone basins and locks, what the surprise of Cadillac would be if he could be, for an instant, permitted to see carried into effect his suggestions or plans of two centuries ago.

After passing through this canal our boat next went to Toronto and thence to Oswego. Both of these places are full of historic interest but not that of the subject I was investigating. The beautiful scenery of the Thousand islands is nearly as wild as it was in Cadillac's time, but the hand of man has changed the aspects of many islands and turned their barrenness and wildness into bowers of beauty. The rapids of the St. Lawrence commence a short distance below Ogdensburg and continue to Montreal.

These rapids are in no manner changed from Cadillac's time and are just as dangerous now as when the Frenchmen and Indians of his day braved the waves in their frail canoes. Accidents frequently happened; canoes were upset and their occupants were drowned or barely escaped with their lives; but the people continued to pass down the river by that route rather than walk along the shore and let their boats float at the end of long ropes, which were occasionally used for that purpose.

The streets of Montreal are an evidence of the French ideas of two centuries ago. They are narrow, straight and short. The town of Ville Marie, founded by Maisonneuve in 1642, is still to be seen in the city of Montreal of today, for the streets are there as they were occupied by those old French habitans, and some of the buildings still remain.

Montreal is all stone and brick and the massive stone buildings of the later times are out of sorts with the narrow streets on which they are erected.

Church Attended by Detroit's Founder.

Here, on St. Paul street, near the river, stands Bonsecour church, the oldest church in Montreal, and here Cadillac and his wife and family went to mass many times, for it was then the only church in Montreal, and Cadillac was a devout catholic.

The tablet on the church informs us that the present structure is modern, compared with Cadillac's time, but that its foundation antedates Detroit several years.

I took a copy of the inscription, which is as follows:

N. D. Bonsecour.

Commencee	1657.	Incendiee	1754.
Reconstruite	1772.	Restoree	1888.

The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, some years since, hunted up the points of historical interest in the city and erected tablets to indicate the important event or location of the place. These tablets are fastened up in many places in the older French portion of the city. Some of them are of interest to the people of Detroit as indicating some matters in which our city took a part. As an instance, at the northwest corner of McGill and Notre Dame streets is the following inscription:

Recollets Gate.
By this gate
Amherst took possession.
8 September 1760.

Gen. Hull, U. S. Army,
25 officers, 350 men. entered
Prisoners of War,
10 September 1812.

An inscription of more interest to me was that affixed at the northwest corner of St. Lambert and Notre Dame streets, as follows:

In 1694
Here stood the house of
LaMothe Cadillac,
The Founder of Detroit.

This statement is not exactly true, but it is supported by facts sufficient to make the assertion reasonably correct. Cadillac did not live in Montreal in 1694, but was stationed at Michillimackinac. His wife remained in Montreal until his return there in

1697. He did not own any dwelling, at that time, in Montreal, nor have I been able to find that he ever owned one there. As commandant at Mackinac he was permitted to engage in trade there and his wife acted as his agent in Montreal in purchasing goods and forwarding them to him for sale to the Indians or traders. At Montreal lived LaMothe Luciere, a namesake and possibly a relative of Cadillac. This man was an army officer of some prominence who had, a few year before this, at the request of the French government, built a fort at Niagara. He was also governor of Montreal in 1669 and 1670. LaMothe Luciere lived on Notre Dame street in Montreal and Madam Therese Guyon (wife of Cadillac) made her home with him during the absence of her husband at Mackinac. I have not discovered anything to indicate that LaMothe Cadillac and LaMothe Luciere were in any way related, but the identity of the family name, LaMothe, indicates that they had some connection with each other. What little we know of the life of Madam Cadillac indicates that she was a capable and energetic business woman as well as a brave and affectionate wife. I have copies of many contracts, for various purposes, entered into by her for promoting the interest of her husband, and she borrowed money for him and purchased goods to send to him on many occasions. I do not know what authority the society had for placing this placard at the corner of St. Lambert street, but probably it was the home of LaMothe Luciere, and that Cadillac and his wife temporarily lived there. That he once occupied it made it an object of interest.

Valuable Documents for Detroit.

There are many other inscriptions of local interest; some in French and others in English, but no others of local interest to Detroit, except as they pertain to the history of the northwest.

I visited the Palais de Justice and was permitted to inspect and read the archives in the basement of this great building. Here are collected and preserved the musty records of two centuries and a half of Canadian history. I have had a copyist busy for some years transcribing such of these records as pertain to Detroit and the matter is far from being exhausted yet. The wealth of historical matter in these ancient and yellow documents is unknown to historians, I believe, and I think I am the first person to disclose, in part, their value to the writers and readers of history. Some 20 or 30 volumes of these records have already been transcribed for my use and no item later than the year 1760 has yet been copied. Dwelling upon the quantity and wealth of these old papers will scarcely convey an idea of their importance, and I can only express my appreciation of them by the word "invaluable."

Nearly across the street from the Palais de Justice and a block or so further to the east, on the southerly side of Notre Dame street, is situated the Chateau de Ramezay, built for Claude de Ramezay in 1704 or 1705. This building was of great interest to me and is of so much interest now to the people of Montreal that they have purchased it and retain it in its original shape as a memorial of old Montreal.

Shortly after Detroit was founded Cadillac got into a quarrel with the Company of the Colony of Canada relative to the right to the trade of the new post and, in consequence of the quarrel, he was summoned to Montreal, where he was detained—not exactly placed under arrest, but compelled to remain within the limits of the city pending the hearing of the charges preferred against him. At this time Claude de Ramezay was the governor of Montreal, and, in that capacity, Cadillac was subject to his orders and to a certain extent he was in his custody. Ramezay proved himself in many ways to be the friend of his prisoner, giving him personal liberty there and assisting him in his appeal to the authorities at Quebec and in France. Probably he was entertained by Ramezay at this chateau, for at this time the building was just completed or in process of erection.

Historic Old Castle.

The building itself is a marvel of solid masonry, so substantial that the

CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY, MONTREAL, WHERE CADILLAC WAS ENTERTAINED IN 1704.

winters of 200 years have disclosed no faults in its construction. I cannot adequately describe its massive walls of stone, its great fireplace in the basement or cuisine, its vaulted wine cellar which seems like a dungeon of some old castle. The building is two stories in height besides the cellar and basement, and the rooms are large. Here for more than a century assembled the great men of the nation on important occasions. The successive governors met the Indian chiefs on their visits to the city, receiving them in the great reception room of the chateau. Here in this council room sat many of the noted men of the last century—Ramezay, Vaudreuil, Cadillac, Gen. Amherst, Gen. Gage, Sir Guy Carleton (afterward Lord Dorchester), Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll (survivor of the signers of the declaration of independence), Benedict Arnold, the traitor, and many others.

In February, 1776, congress appointed three commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, to go to Canada to see if they could not enlist the Canadians in the American cause in the war then pending with England. Rev. John Carroll, afterward archbishop of Baltimore, accompanied the expedition. On their arrival at Montreal they were met by Gen. Benedict Arnold. One of the commissioners, Charles Carroll, on the occasion wrote:

"We supped at that general's and after supper were conducted to our lodgings—the house of Thomas Walker—the best built and perhaps the best furnished in this town."

The "house of Thomas Walker" was at the west end of the Chateau de Ramezay, and here they remained until their return to the states. Dr. Franklin, who was old (70 years of age) and infirm, remained but a few days and set out on the 11th of May on his return. Rev. John Carroll started with him.

It is related that while Franklin was stopping in Montreal the first printing press there was set up in the basement of the chateau under his directions, by Joseph Fleury Mesplet, who came to

Montreal with the commissioners. This may have been a fact, for it is certain that at about this time the first press was brought to Montreal, but the limited time of Franklin's visit would not permit him to give Mesplet many lessons in printing. However, the first newspaper there, the Gazette du Commerce et Litteraire, pour la Ville et District de Montreal, was published by Charles F. Mesplet and C. Berger on June 3 in the following year.

Quebec in Cadillac's Time.

Quebec, the next place of importance that attracts our attention, is more like the ancient French cities than is Montreal. Not only do its narrow streets indicate its age, but its very people seem to live in last century. In an estimated population of 75,000 I understand that only 5,000 are protestants and only the latter number speak the English language. Many of the French people are able to speak both languages, but this knowledge is confined to merchants and clerks and those carrying on a business that brings them into contact with both nationalities.

The streets are exceedingly narrow in the lower town—the older part. Nearly all of the buildings here were destroyed or seriously injured by the bombardment of Gen. Wolfe in 1759, but they were reconstructed on their old foundations and the streets were neither straightened nor widened. The electric cars, recently introduced, nearly monopolize many of the streets, for there was scarcely room for two vehicles to pass, before, and the new car line is placed in the center of the street, so now the car must wait for teams to move along to the next crossing before it can proceed.

Some of the streets are so narrow that only one team can pass at a time—10 to 12 feet in width—and here are huddled a multitude of women and children, living in apartments over the stores they own. The street is not wide enough for a walk beside the driveway and the people must necessarily go into the street to walk.

This is the city of Quebec, as it was in Cadillac's time, for here his wife lived with her father, Denys Guyon, and her brothers, after the father's death, in a stone house on St. Pierre street in Lower Town. In this town Cadillac and Marie Therese Guyon were married on the 25th of June, 1687, and here they lived for some time then, and at a later date.

Cadillac was in the marine department and was stationed on the hill that overlooks the city, probably the present site of the Chateau Frontenac, or possibly even further up at the citadel. When the evening came and he was released from his duties he, with others, was accustomed to wander down the long winding roadway of the hill reaching to Lower Town to visit the places of amusement, or possibly the 16-year-old girl who became Madam Cadillac in 1687.

An episode in the life of the founder is related in the unpublished records of that time as follows:

Detroit's Founder in a Brawl.

On Thursday, May 2, 1686, Cadillac, then a lieutenant of the company of Sieur de Vallereinies, got into a quarrel with Sieur de Sabrevoye, sub-lieutenant of the Company of Desquerac at the house of the widow of Pierre Pellerin, Sieur de St. Amant, on St. Pierre street, in Lower Town, where Cadillac had called early in the evening and had been invited to have a glass with the assembly.

The quarrel arose over some reflections of Cadillac regarding the habits of Sabrevoye, and on the fact that Sabrevoye was supported by the Marquis Denonville, governor and lieutenant-general for the king. In the melee Cadillac threatened to thrash Sabrevoye; both men attempted to draw their swords, but the bystanders threw themselves between them and prevented the duel, whereupon Cadillac took up the copper candlestick, which was on the table, and threw it at the head of Sabrevoye, wounding him and extinguishing the light. La-Perelle, a sub-lieutenant, and Sieur Declavaux, who were present, ejected Cadillac from the house.

Cadillac was very much frightened for if news of the event came to the ears of the marquis it would probably end in his ruin. He was summoned before the recorder of the marshal's court. A great amount of testimony was taken in the case and all reduced to writing and is still preserved. The

governor went from house to house summoning the witnesses before him and himself questioned each one regarding the quarrel, its origin, progress and result. Sabrevoye's wound was not serious and the affair was patched up and Cadillac was released. When Cadillac was commandant at Detroit, some years later, Sabrevoye came here to live and remained for some years.

In a little square, nearly under the Chateau Frontenac, the grand hotel of Quebec, stands a small church called Notre Dame des Victoires. This was first erected in 1688, but has since been reconstructed and is now of a modern form, but is still on its ancient foundation.

Cadillac was not married in this church, for it was erected the year succeeding his marriage, but probably within its doors some of his children were baptized, for his son Antoine was born in Quebec in 1692. James was born there in 1695. Peter Denis was born there June 13, 1699, and was buried there July 4, 1700. Marie Ann was born in Quebec, June 7, and died June 9, 1701, and Rene Louis, who was born in Detroit, died in Quebec in 1714, so that around this church some of the most interesting events in the life of Cadillac are clustered.

Concerning this church Phileas Gagnon, probably the best historical authority in Quebec, recently wrote to me: "The church of Notre Dame de la Victoire is and has been the only church built in the lower town of this city. It stands on what was called in 1687 'Place Royal,' on account of a bronze bust of Louis XIV., erected there that year by Bochart Champigny. This church was erected in 1688 but it was not called Notre Dame de la Victoire until 1690. In that year amid the joy caused by the defeat of Sir William Phipps, in his attempt to capture the town of Quebec, the feast of Notre Dame de la Victoire was established, to be annually celebrated in this church on the 7th of October—that being the day on which the first intelligence of the coming of the English was received. After the shipwreck of the English fleet in 1711, which was considered by the inhabitants as a second victory, and little less than a miraculous interposition in their favor, the church received the name of Notre Dame des Victoires, in order to commemorate both occasions at the same time."

Within the present church, on the wall facing the pulpit is a marble slab with an inscription to indicate the principal events in the history of the church, as follows:

1688 1ei Mai, Pose de la 1 ere
pierre par le Marquis
de Denonville gouverneur
Innocent XI Pape
Louis XIV Roi de France
L'Eglise est dediee a
l'enfant Jesus.

1690 Defait de l'armee Phipps
l'eglise prend le titre de N. D.
de la Victoire
1711 Dispersion de la flotte de
l'armee Walker, l'eglise
prend le titre de N. D. des Victoires
1759 Incendise pendant le siege
1765 Rebatie
1888 Restoree a l'occasion
du 2elne centaire

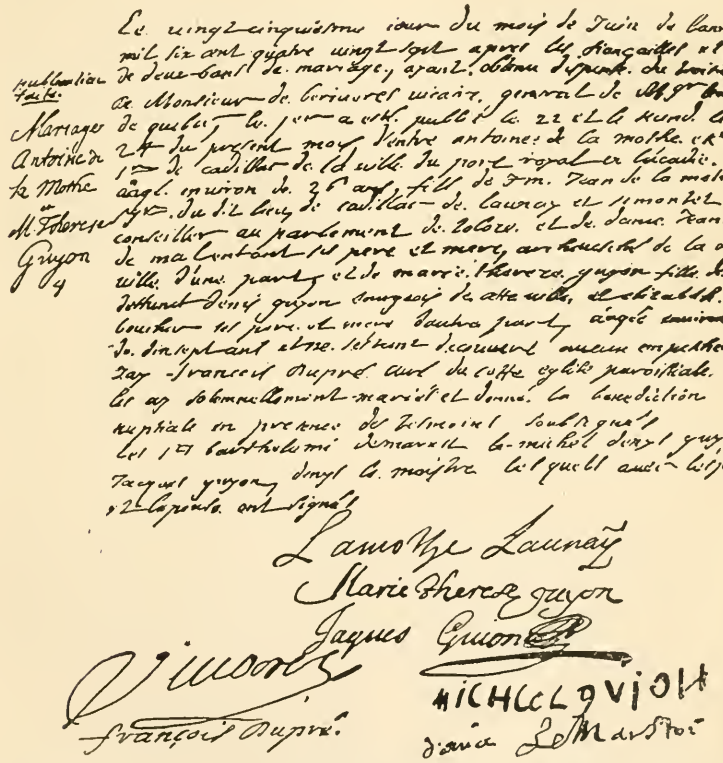
Across the street from this church is the Hotel Blanchard, which, I was informed, is built on the site of a convent which was established in the seventeenth century. In this convent Madam Cadillac placed her eldest daughter Magdelaine, when she set out for Detroit in the summer of 1701.

Cadillac had reached the site of Detroit and laid the foundation for the new post on the 24th day of July, 1701. He brought with him his eldest son, Antoine, then a youth of some 9 years of age. His living children at this time, besides his son Antoine, were his eldest daughter, Magdelaine, and his son Jacques. Two other children, Pierre Denis and Marie Anne, had died in Quebec. The latter, Marie Anne, died after her father had left that city to go west.

Fr. Anjabran (or Enjabran), a Jesuit priest, and I believe the only Jesuit who was friendly to Cadillac, was requested to escort Madam Cadillac and Madam Tonty, wife of Cadillac's lieutenant, Alphonse Tonty, to Detroit, but he found it impossible to comply with the request. However, through

his report we are enabled to determine that Madam Cadillac, leaving her daughter Magdelaine in the convent above mentioned, started from Quebec with her son Jacques, then 6 years of age, and reached Three Rivers, about half way between Quebec and Montreal, on the 30th of August, 1701. On the 10th of September they reached and departed from Montreal, and arrived at Fort Frontenac (now Kingston) on the 23d of September. The lateness of the season prevented further progress of the party, for there was no stopping place between Fort Frontenac and Detroit, so the party remained at the fort during the winter months and resumed their journey as early as possible and reached Detroit in the early spring of 1702.

In the archives of the French cathedral is to be found the register in use at the time of Cadillac's marriage, and I have had the marriage record photographed and reproduce it here as of general interest to all our people:



COPY OF CADILLAC'S MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE FOUND IN CANADIAN ARCHIVES.

(TRANSLATION.)

The 25th of the month of June, in the year 1687, after the betrothment and the publication of two bans of marriage, having obtained dispensation of the third of Monsieur de Bernieres, vicar-general of the Lord Bishop of Quebec, the first being published the 22d and the second the 24th of the present month, between Antoine de Lamothe, esquire, sieur de Cadillac of the village of Port Royal in Acadia, aged about 26 years, son of Mr. Jean de la Mothe, sieur of the place called Cadillac of Launay and Semontel, counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse, and of Madam Jeanne de Malenfant, his father and mother, of the one part; and of Marie Thereze Guyon, daughter of the deceased Denis Guyon, a citizen of this place, and Elizabeth Boucher, her father and mother, of the other part, aged about 17 years, and not finding any hindrance, I, Francois Dupre, cure of this parish, have solemnly married and given the nuptial benediction in the presence of the subscribing witnesses, sieurs Barthelemi Desmarest, Michel Denys Guyon, Jacques Guyon, Denys le Maitre, who have signed with the husband and wife.

LAMOTHE LAUNAY.
MARIE THERESE GUYON.
JACQUES GUION.
MICHEL GUION.
DENIS LE MAITRE.
DEMAREST.
FRANCOIS DUPRE.

The above named priest, Francois Dupre, came to Canada May 28, 1673. In 1675 he was a missionary in the Quebec seminary; first cure of the parish of Champlain in 1684, and cure of the parish of Quebec from 1686 till 1707. In 1711 he was at Lorette, where he died and was buried under the altar June 29, 1720.

I could not ascertain the house on St. Pierre street in which Cadillac and his wife lived while in Quebec, but a further investigation of the titles to lots in the lower town may give me its location.

Outward bound from Quebec on an ocean steamer I passed through the River St. Lawrence, past the falls of Montmorency and down the gulf, hugging the southern shore, which is dotted with the little hamlets of fishermen, whose ancestors took up this occupation centuries ago and whose descendants will probably continue it for centuries to come. The scenery along this coast is grand, and beyond the power of my pen to adequately describe.

After a few days' sail I reached Charlottetown, in Prince Edward Island, and now began to feel that I was in America, for here everyone speaks English, and French is apparently unknown. From Charlottetown a ride of a few hours on a great ferry steamer takes us to Pictou in Nova Scotia.

Pictou is a small place and can be fitly described as "over-ripe," for it has reached the zenith of its prosperity and is sinking to decay. From Pictou the railroad carried me south across the isthmus to Halifax. The country is beautiful, but as this portion was unknown to the French or uninhabited by them I did not take so great an interest in either Charlottetown, Pictou or Halifax.

After a short stay in Halifax I again took the train across the isthmus in a northwesterly direction to Annapolis Royal. This is the land of Evangeline. Longfellow has appropriately described this country:

This is the forest primeval, the murmuring
pines and the hemlocks,
Bearded with moss, and in garments green,
indistinct in the twilight,
Stand like Druids of Eld, with voices sad
and prophetic,
Stand like harpers hoar, with beards that
rest on their bosoms.

I never saw a country, on the 1st of September, so green and pretty as this country is. In the states the verdure is burned and yellow from the hot days of July and August, but here the trees and shrubs and grass are as green and fresh as if the winter snows had but recently melted and the April showers had given fresh life and vigor to all nature.

On through Grand Pre and along the shores of the basin of Minas, where Evangeline and her lover lived, skirting the waters of the bay, through beautiful and quiet scenery, our train of some 20 cars, heavily laden with passengers, draws up at Annapolis, the end of its journey. A great excursion of country folks on the Intercolonial line were returning from a day spent in Halifax and the cars were

crowded with passengers and filled with the merry laughter of the young folks.

Nova Scotia was originally covered with evergreens, pine, hemlock, juniper, cedar and spruce trees. On the cultivated portions these evergreens have been cleared off except an occasional tree or shrub, but there are thousands of acres on which the original forests are still standing as green as on the day Champlain first visited the country. The picture that Longfellow draws of Evangeline's home is perfect, except that the pine trees and other timber seem to be of a dwarf variety and not the stately pines of Michigan.

It is but a short distance from Grand Pre to Annapolis and the country is of that same beautiful green that one sees everywhere in Nova Scotia.

Historic Old Port Royal.

Annapolis was my destination and a longer stop than usual was made at this point, for it was full of interest to me of a period that antedates Evangeline by half a century. It was called Port Royal by the French and was the most important of their early settlements in America, for it was occupied by them as early as 1605. The possession of the place passed from France to England and was again returned to France several times before its final cession to England in 1718.

A fort was erected in 1605, which was probably enlarged and improved as time passed on. This fort is still in existence, or rather the earthworks and some of the stone buildings still remain, though it is no longer used for military purposes. The fort grounds cover some 30 acres of land and the earthworks cover a goodly portion of that ground. The embankments are still nearly intact, and show that an immense amount of work was done to carry the dirt that forms these great earthworks, for the French had no horses or cattle with which to do this work, and the earth was carried from a distance on the backs of Indian women. The great piles of earth show that this was the work of years. The sand in one place, at a corner of the fort, threatened to slide in and thus destroy the corner, and a stone wall was erected to hold it in place. The wall remains as it was built, without mortar; inside this wall and close against it are two huge willows, brought from France, of a specie not found in America. These willows are now at least four feet in diameter, showing that they must have been set out here 250 years ago. At the northwest corner of the fort, and on the interior, is what is locally termed the "Black Hole." It is supposed that it was intended as a prison for refractory soldiers or Indians. It is not large enough to hold more than a dozen or 20 people at once, and it is more likely that it was intended as a small powder magazine, or else to hold the arms of the soldiers. On the western side and about midway down the curtain is the sally port. This looks toward Annapolis basin. The masonry is as old as the earthworks, and seems likely to be able to withstand the ravages of time for many centuries.

Queer Powder Magazine.

The most interesting object in the fort is the powder magazine in the southwest corner. This magazine is 15 by 20 feet on the interior and 30 by 36 feet on the exterior—showing that the walls are 6 to 7½ feet in thickness.

The building is constructed of a specie of limestone brought from Normandy and is unlike any stone found in this part of the country. The masonry is exceedingly substantial and the mortar in which the stone was laid 250 years ago shows no sign of breaking in the interior. The arched roof is made without the aid of a keystone, and the cement is so strong that the necessity of one was not felt. With a fort as substantial as this was and an adequate supply of men and munitions of war the French could have withstood an army of Englishmen.

Behind the fort, and to the south of it, were clustered the dwellings of the people of Port Royal, a small village, for although there were some 500 or 600 people in the settlement around the fort, they were scattered over the surrounding farming lands for many miles. The country had been so long occupied by them that they had no fear of the Indians, and they thought they were prepared for incursions from the English.

Annapolis basin is a long bay setting in from the Bay of Fundy, some 20 or 25 miles, and it is at the eastern extremity of this basin that the fort was erected. The entrance from the bay to the basin is much narrower than the basin is after that point is passed. Midway along the basin is Goat island. The water in the basin is of sufficient depth to float the largest vessels, for the tide rises 25 to 30 feet at the eastern extremity of the basin, and the tide in the Bay of Fundy, the highest in the world, rises over 50 feet.

Cadillac's Home Burned by the British.

In 1690 Cadillac lived in Port Royal and owned a house in the village there. In 1689 war had broken out between France and England over the expulsion of King James II. by England, and the harboring of him by Louis XIV. of France, and the warfare was to be carried on in America, as well as in Europe. When this war was declared Cadillac was residing on Mount Desert island, which he owned, but he removed his family to Port Royal, probably for better security, and purchased a dwelling for them behind the fort.

He was probably engaged with the uncle of his wife, Francois Guyon, on shipboard, looking out for English vessels that they might capture or destroy, and spent but little time with his family at the fort. At that time the only child that Cadillac had, of which we have any record, was Magdelaine, who was born either on Mount Desert island or at Port Royal.

Sir William Phipps, governor of Massachusetts, had been instructed by his government to take such part in the war with France as he might be able, both to protect the English settlements in America and to inflict all possible injury on the French. With this end in view he set out in April, 1690, to achieve something for the glory of England and the discomfiture of France. Sailing into Annapolis basin in the latter part of May, he took the place by surprise, and it was obliged to surrender to him without offering any resistance.

While the lives of the citizens were spared their houses were plundered and some of them, Cadillac's among the number, were burned. The parish church was destroyed and the priests, Petit and Trouve, with some 38 soldiers were carried prisoners to Boston.

Cadillac's family, burned out, started to return to Quebec, were taken prisoners by the English, but were released as non-combatants, and proceeded home. Mount Desert island, which belonged to Cadillac, and on which he resided in 1689, is on the coast of Maine; Cadillac's possessions not only included this island, but several thousand acres of the adjacent mainland, including the modern Bar Harbor.

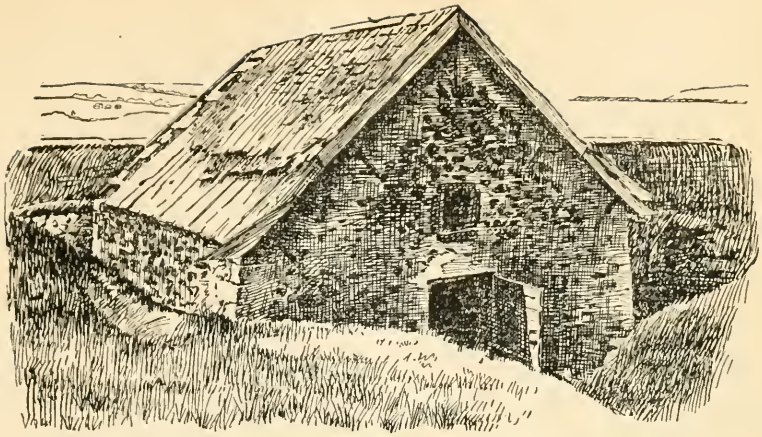
I have been unable to ascertain why this valuable and extensive tract was given to Cadillac, for he had not accomplished much at this time to warrant the government in making the gift. It is possible that his work on the ocean was better known than the records seem to indicate now, and that this land was given in compensation for that work.

He was familiar with the entire coast line and one of the earliest French maps of Boston, as well as one of the earliest maps of New York, both made by Franquelin, bear the mark of approval of Cadillac. At a later period and during the war he accompanied an expedition to New York, or Manathe, as he calls it, intending to attack that place by water; but the plan failed for want of concert between the land and naval forces.

Jealousy of the French.

While my visit to Boston and Cambridge, with their great libraries so full of historical matters of those early days, and the great Lenox, Astor and Tilden libraries of New York, were of exceeding interest to me in these studies, the memory and name of Cadillac is to be found only in the old records. Nothing remains now as it was in his day.

A trip up the Hudson is beautiful and interesting, but far more interesting to me were two old documents I found in archives in the great state capitol at Albany. As preliminary to the introduction of these papers I would state that shortly after Cadillac reached the site of Detroit the English, at a treaty meeting with the Iro-



OLD POWDER MAGAZINE AT ANNAPOLIS.

quois Indians, obtained from these Indians a deed of all the land in the west as far as Chicago, and including the present Detroit. This deed has been printed several times and can be found in extenso in volume 4, page 908, of the "New York Colonial Manuscripts." It is dated July 19, 1701, but the difference in computation of time between protestant and catholic countries makes this, in the French calendar, July 29, or four days after Cadillac arrived at Detroit. In this deed Detroit is called Tjeughsaghrondie (this name can be spelled some 70 different ways), and Lake Erie is called Swege.

The proposed erection of the fort at Detroit was evidently known to the Iroquois some time before Cadillac selected its site, and both the Indians south of the great lakes and the English were excited over it and proposed to stop it if possible. It was at this time and in this situation of affairs that the two documents I have found were written, and they fully explain themselves.

Robert Livingston was secretary of Indian affairs and John Nanfan was lieutenant-governor.

The papers have, I believe, never been printed, and I give them in full:

Report of Laurence Clease ye interpreter come from Onnandago ye 10th. of Octob 1701 in Albany.

Pursuant to the instructions given me the 5th. instant I went to Onnandago where I found ye Sachims of ye Sinnekes, Cayugas and Onnandagos convind, who had bolts sent them from ye Maguass and Oneydes, they asked me if Quidor was come according to their desire, I told them no, and that he had great inclination to come but ye season of ye year would not admitt it, there being dayly much rain and cold weather to be expected.

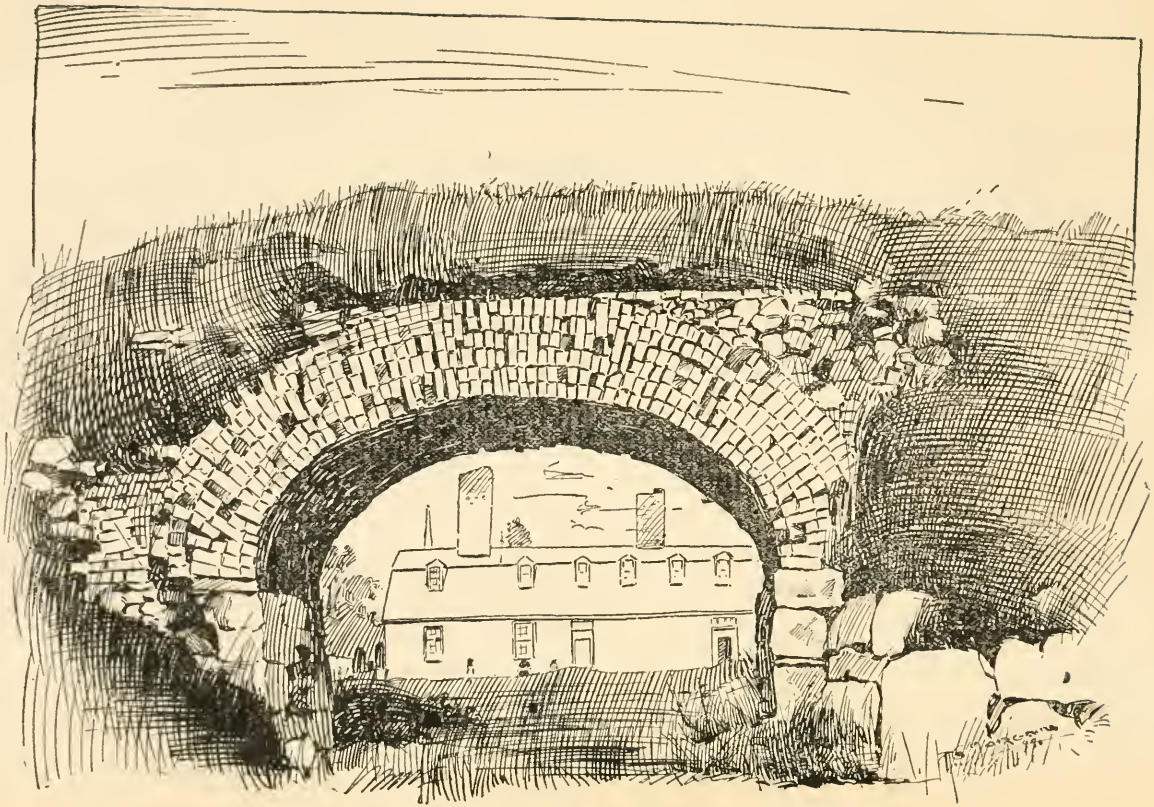
Then they asked me if ye Secretary, Mr. Livingston, was gon to England according to their earnest request made in ye publike propositions when they were Last at Albany to acquaint the King how ye French incroached upon their Country for they had not only made a fort at Tjughsaghronie, but have, since ye Sachims were last at Albany, made two trading houses on this side of ye Lake hard by ye Sinnekes at ye two principall Places where our Indians must pass by, when they come from hunting, and have brought thither all sorts of Indian goods, one of ye Places

is called Dekana Sachtiago, and
the other Tenchjuchjago, we
fear if the Secretary does not
goe who knows all our affairs
that Letters will not be regarded
and then we shall Loose our
country and our hunting and those
of Albany will Loose their Trade
for we see ye french are a diligent
People—always in action but ye
People of Albany are as if they
were Lame or Criple, goe no
where to Trade to no Indians
The French are passed by to ye Fort
which they have made this Summer
and have a french woman in each
Canoe, but, we see not that Corlair
does any thing.
I answered that ye Secretary
was gone, upon which they
said, are the leters gone, I told ym
I did not know.
I told them further yt
I was come upon their message which
they sent to Albany, concerning
their Resolution to send Agents
to make Peace with ye Davaganhads
and other farr Indians at Tjugh-
Saghrondie and yt I had a great
bolt from Corcair to send wil ym
to confirm ye Peace and to assure
ye farr Indians that they should
be welcome to come to Albany and
well Treated where they would find
goods cheaper than at Canada
The Sachims were well
satisfied and took ye bolt sent
by Corlair, and said they had not
only concluded to make Peace with ye
farr Indians, at Tjughsagbrondie (ac
cording to their desire signified to ym
by a Sinneka Prisoner whom they had
released and sent to ye 5 nations for yt
purpose) but have sent ye Prisoners
of ye farr Indians away before with
some Indians to acquaint ye Dowagan-
haes that they were a Comoing to
make peace with them at Tjughsagh-
rondie, in which Peace our Brother Corlair
shall be included, and we will make one ar-
ticle that they come and trade at Albany
for which the Path shall be open and clean.
Concerning ye bad news that the
messenger said was at Onnandago the
matter is this, a rumour is spread among
the
Indians that DeScannisson, and another
when
he was Last at N. Yorke should betray the
five nations to ye governour of N. Yorke to
be Destroyd and that he should have done
ye same to ye governour of Canada, giving
a Bolt to each governour and that this
story should come from Kendrik ye Ma-
guass
who should have said it to Aqueenders and
ye DeKanissord has sent a post to the
Governour of Canada to free himself of this
imputation.
When I came back I asked Ken-
drik ye Indian and Aqueenders but they
know nothing of ye matter, being a notorius
lye, however it hath made a great stirr
among ye Indians in this country
I found ye Indians at Onnan-
dago very much divided in two
factions, ye one for ye English
the other ye French, but I
believe those that are for
for this government are ye
strongest and those Sachims
that are of our side desire
me that I would tell Corlair
and Quinder yt it was their desire
yt a messenger be sent to Canada
to forbidd the Governour of yt
Place to make such trading house
on their Ground for those trading
houses would be soon converted
into Forts.

LAURENCE CLEASE.

Another Note of Alarm.

To the Hon. John Nanfan Esq.
Lieut. Gov. and Commander in Chief
of ye Province of N. Yorke &c.
The humble Memorlall of Rt. Livingston
See for yr Indian Affairs showeth
How that he has been lately at Albany to
Enquir
into ye state of ye Indians of ye five na-
tions who
he finds by ye interpreter lately come from
them
that they are very much divided among
themselves by
a french faction among them as by ye said
Interpreter's report under his hand ap-
pears.
That ve French of Canada have not only
built a new fort
this summer at Tjughsaghrondie between
ve lake
of Sweege and Ottowawa the principall
place
of Bever hunting, but have lately built
two trading houses
on this side of ye lake near ye Sinnekes
and
stored them with all sorts of Indian goods.
He doth
therefore offer it as his opinion for the
expelling of french



SALLY PORT, AS SEEN FROM THE EXTERIOR OF THE FORT AT PORT ROYAL.

from his Majst territories and preventing of the like
Incroachments for the future that a party of men be sent
forthwith to destroy ye said Trading Houses save the
goods and distribute them among the Indians and discharge
ye French from settling on this side of ye lake
That Lawrence ye Interpreter be sent with some of
or such as your honr. Shal think fitt as far
as Tjughsaghrondie out a hunting with some of
our Indians to make a discovery of what the French
are a doing, what fort they have made, what
treaties they have agreed to with ye farr
Indians, havn our Indians conclude their peace with
ye said far Indians and on what terms, and withal to
endevor to bring some of ye farr Indians to
Albany to trade. * * *
October 20, 1701.

ROBT. LIVINGSTON.

Thus I completed my first, but I sincerely hope not my last, journey in the footsteps of Cadillac.

C. M. BURTON.

September, 1898.

LANDING OF CADILLAC.

Historic Event That Might Be Commemorated.

Among the many suggestions for the proposed bicentenary of the founding of Detroit, little has been advanced that might be considered personal to the illustrious Frenchman, who with his band of hardy adventurers on the 23d day of July, 1701, landed where the city of Detroit now stands.

In Robert B. Ross's work, "The Landmarks of Wayne County and Detroit," the first chapter is devoted exclusively to a graphic pen picture of this historical incident. A brief resume of the chapter may prove suggestive to the committee in charge of the program of exercises.

On June 5, 1701, the Cadillac expedition started from La Chine, above Montreal, and entered the Ottawa river. They threaded the windings of that stream for over 300 leagues, making 30 portages,. The remainder of the route was down French river to Lake Huron. The party crossed the lake and landed where Gonsolus Duluth had in 1687 built a fort, burned by the Indians two years later. They passed down St. Clair river and lake, and entered the Detroit river late in the afternoon, having accomplished a voyage of over 1,000 miles in 40 days.

The expedition was a ponderous one for those days. There were 25 large canoes, or bateaux, in which were 100 white men. These boats were 26 feet long by 6 feet beam, having each two tons burden. One hundred Algonquin warriors in birchbark canoes, constituted the escort to the white voyagers. Silently they rounded the head of Belle Isle and glided down the river. No notice was given of their approach. They were entering upon the choice hunting grounds of the cruel and treacherous Iroquois.

Cadillac, with an eye to the future, was looking for a site on which to establish a fort and trading post. Half of the men he had with him were soldiers, while the rest were farmers and mechanics. The view and situation of Belle Isle decided Cadillac. It reminded him of Isle Royal, where Paris was first built.

The evening meal was prepared and, after religious exercises by two priests, the weary travelers, without molestation, sought the needed repose. The following morning, after early mass, Cadillac raised the white banner with its three lilies, and in the name of Louis XIV. proclaimed the land a French possession. Among the first buildings erected was the rustic church, dedicated to Ste. Anne.

While Cadillac and his brave band had been threading the windings of the Ottawa, the Iroquois chiefs, knowing the purpose of his voyage, had held a council with the British authorities in New York, the result of which was the ceding and conveying to William III. of England all their right and title to lands in the northwest, including the straits of Detroit. They had previously protested to Cadillac against the establishing of a fort at Detroit, but he had replied that all that territory belonged to the French king, his master. Incensed, they made terms with the English.

As a matter of fact, the Iroquois chiefs had signed the conveyances to the British governor just five days before Cadillac landed at Detroit.

At first the intention was to found the post on Grosse Isle, but, turning their boats up stream again, the party landed near where the first French fort was built.

Could not this great episode in the history of Detroit be made a prominent feature of the coming bicentenary? What a pageant could be given on the river, with a reproduction of the fleet of Cadillac, bateaux, canoes, soldiers, habitants, Indians, etc.

J. W. F. M.

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U. S. B.
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Early Detroit

A Sketch of Some of the
Interesting Affairs
of the Olden Time

By C. M. BURTON

A Word to the Reader

THIS is not a history of the City of Detroit, for a history of the place would fill many volumes.

Detroit is one of the oldest cities in the northern part of the United States, and its history is full of romance. The novelist, the hero worshiper and the student can all find enough to employ their time for years in studying the place, its peoples, the objects for its establishment, its struggles for existence and its success.

Here have been noted only a very few of the many events that go to make up its story.

Clarence Monroe Burton

Detroit Under French Rule.

ANTOINE DE LA MOTHE CADILLAC was born in the department of Tarne and Garonne, in Gascony, France, about 1656. His father was Jean de Laumet and his mother Jeanne de Malenfant. The name Cadillac was assumed from landed possessions owned by him. He came to America in 1683, and settled at Port Royal (now called Annapolis), near the home of the heroine of Longfellow's "Evangeline." He became a man of considerable importance to the French government in consequence of his knowledge of the New England Sea Coast and in recommending him for promotion, his superior officer called him La Mothe. This name, which was quite common in France, clung to him and soon he adopted it and thereafter passed by it. He had drifted to Quebec within the next few years, and there he married Marie Therese Guyon, June 25, 1687. In 1688 he received, as a grant from the French government, Mount Desert Island and a great tract of the main land opposite the island, including the whole of Bar Harbor, Maine.

He was at Mackinac as commandant from 1694 to 1698, and then, passing through Quebec, he went to Paris in order to lay before the king his project for establishing a colony at Detroit. Successful in his errand, he returned to America, and started from Montreal for his new home on the Detroit River, on June 2d, 1701. He was accompanied by one hundred Frenchmen and one hundred Algonquin Indians. His route was along the Ottawa River, which enters the St.

Lawrence at Montreal, and from the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing, across that lake to French River, and down this river and Pickerel River to the Georgian Bay, down the easterly coast of this bay to the River St. Clair, and thence to the present site of Detroit. The Ottawa route was chosen because the Iroquois Indians, who lived in the northern and western part of New York, were at war with the French, and would not permit any persons to pass along the Niagara route.

In the summer of 1904, I went to the eastern end of Lake Nipissing, and spent several weeks in going over the pathway of Cadillac in this, his first trip to Detroit. Passing through the eastern end of this lake, we reached the outlet known as French River. With an Indian guide and birch bark canoes, we paddled the entire length of French and Pickerel Rivers to French River Village, the head of navigation. The country today is as wild and barren as it was in Cadillac's time, and if he could again visit this scene, there is no doubt that the old landmarks that guided him then would again serve to show him his way through this vast waste of water and of rocks. The country is a great desert of rocks—rocks for miles and miles—no trees of any size, and underbrush only in the crevices of the rocks where the accumulation of the dust of ages has been sufficient to sustain a little vegetable life. The river is not a river, but a continuation of the lake. It has very little current, though it occasionally contracts into a narrower channel with a waterfall, around which our boats had to be carried. The scenery is perfectly wild, and the route we took is doubtless the one used by all travelers for the past two hundred and fifty years.

Passing over this route and along the coast and river, Cadillac reached the site of Detroit, and located it as his future home, on the 24th day of July, 1701. That was a busy day in Detroit. No hand was idle. Drawing their canoes upon the grassy shore of the strait, they all set to

work to found a city, little thinking that it would one day contain more white people than the whole of North America contained at that time. Some cleared the land for the village site, while others, passing into the woods, cut pickets or young trees six to eight inches in diameter and twelve to fifteen feet in length, to form palisades for the new fort. Still others, under the direction of their priest, Father Constantine De L'Halle, set about building a church—the church of Ste. Anne, the first building in Detroit. We have no account of just how much work was done each day, but we know that the church was so far progressed that it was named on the 26th day of July, two days after landing, and called Ste. Anne, as that was Ste. Anne's day.

The work of building a palisaded fort an arpent (192.75 feet) square, that being the size of the village, was very laborious, for every stick of timber had to be carried by hand from the place where it grew to the place where it was used. The ground around the fort for some distance was entirely cleared of trees and underbrush. This was done so that hostile Indians could not gather near the fort under cover. The French tried to live on good terms with the Indians, and generally succeeded. They extended a general invitation to all the tribes of the west to settle in the neighborhood of the new village, and in the first winter, 1701-2, there were 6000 Indians here.

Cadillac remained the commandant of Detroit for ten years, and until the year 1711. He did not always get along well with his own people. He was opinionated and quarrelsome. Those who lived in the village were compelled to do as he directed, but some of them had influential friends in Montreal and Quebec, who took up their quarrels, and finally succeeded in having Cadillac removed.

His most inveterate enemies were the Jesuits and the Company of the Colony of Canada. The quarrel with the Jesuits was of long continuance, and was a part of the troubles

that started between that order and Governor Frontenac. Cadillac would not permit the Jesuits to establish themselves at Detroit, and the church here was under the supervision of the Recollet order.

The Company of the Colony was not pleased that Cadillac had the exclusive right of trading at this post, and they set about it to ruin Cadillac and destroy his village. All parties appealed to the law courts and to the king, but Cadillac was temporarily victorious. In the end they succeeded in driving him from Detroit, and his successor took all of his property, estimated at 50,000 livres, and refused to account for it. Cadillac became governor of Louisiana, and left Detroit for his new position in 1711. After serving as governor for a few years, he returned to France, and during the height of the John Law furor in Paris he told the people that the John Law scheme was a swindle. For his plain talk Cadillac was arrested and thrown into the Bastile. After some months of imprisonment he was liberated, but was never tried. Later in life he was appointed governor of Castell-Sarrazin, in the southern part of France, and died there October 18, 1730. He never recovered his losses at Detroit, but the State of Massachusetts gave to his granddaughter, Madam Gregoire, his old land grant at Bar Harbor, after the close of the War of the Revolution.

During the command of Cadillac he sent repeated reports of the village—its inhabitants—its troubles—improvements and, in fact, everything regarding the times, but no such enterprising commandant succeeded him, and many things are left in obscurity.

When it was known that he was to leave the place, many of the people who were personally attached to him, and who did not have families in the village, packed up their belongings and returned to Montreal and Quebec. So many people left the settlement that the town was partly deserted. The village lines had been extended in previous years to accommo-

date the growing population within the palisades, but now that the place was decreasing in numbers, the new commandant, Dubuisson, concluded to decrease the size of the village enclosure. For this purpose he divided the town in nearly equal parts, and built a new palisade in such a form as to exclude half of the old village from the protection of the garrison. The town had originally included the land measured along the line of the present Jefferson avenue, from the line of Griswold street to Wayne street. There could be no further extension in a westerly direction, for from here the road, if projected, would intersect the high enbankment and the river beyond. All extensions then must have been in an easterly direction, towards Woodward avenue. Ste. Anne's church always occupied the site just west of the crossing of Griswold street and Jefferson avenue.

The division of the village was in such a form that the church and the dwellings in its immediate neighborhood were excluded from the palisades—that is, the new picket line was run north and south at such a distance west of the present Griswold street, that the portion of the village east of this picket line was left exposed and unprotected.

A meeting of the citizens was called and a protest made against this act of the commandant. A remonstrance made by many of the foremost men of the village was drawn up, signed and sent to Cadillac, and an earnest protest was made by the village priest, which was also forwarded to Cadillac. The old commandant could do nothing for his people. The attention of the people was soon diverted to more important events. The decrease in population of the village incited the Fox Indians to attack it for the purpose of destroying the settlement and driving off the French. In 1712 the Fox nation drew near the post and established a fort of their own on the summit of the hill where now stands the Moffat building, and opened an attack on the French. The details of the siege are long and bloody. The first act of the French com-

mandant was to destroy the church and other buildings outside the palisade so as to prevent their being used to protect the Fox Indians. Dubuisson succeeded in forming an alliance with all the other Indian tribes, and, with his few soldiers surrounded the Fox Indians and soon had them at his mercy. He demanded an unconditional surrender. The battle had already raged for nineteen days, when, during a heavy storm at night, the Fox tribe succeeded in escaping. They were overtaken the next day at the place now called Fox Creek, a few miles above the village, now the eastern limits of the city. Here a battle took place between the various Indian tribes, all opposed to the Fox Indians, and the latter were all killed or taken prisoners. The women and children were incorporated into other tribes, but the men were reserved for the horrible deaths that only Indians were capable of inflicting on their enemies.

Dubuisson was not, properly speaking, the commandant at Detroit. La Forest had been chosen to succeed Cadillac, but he was old and unwell and did not come to Detroit until 1712, and Dubuisson governed in his place until that time. During his term of office La Forest urged the French government to build up Detroit, which was fast falling to decay, but was unsuccessful. He died in 1714, and again Dubuisson filled the vacancy until Sabrevois, the next commandant, came later in the same year.

Sabrevois retained the office of commandant for three years. During this time the French court canceled or annulled all the land grants made by Cadillac, alleging that he was not authorized to make them in the first place. This action made the people still further dissatisfied with the post and more of them returned to their old eastern homes. Finding that their land titles were not good, they abandoned their farms, and those who did not leave the settlement, retired to the village, living by trading with the Indians and hunting for themselves.

In 1717 Alphonse de Tonty arrived in Detroit to fill his first term as commandant. He had been in Detroit as second in command, since its foundation. His wife, and Madam Cadillac, were the first white women in the west, having together reached the place in 1702. He was in straightened circumstances and gave a bill of sale of his prospective income from the trade of Detroit to Francois La Marque and Louis Gastineau. These men associated with them three others, and the five men tried to prevent the other citizens from trading at or near Detroit. The place was deteriorating anyway, but such action drove it down hill still faster. Under former customs an annual fair was held in Detroit, lasting for several days. All the streets were filled with shops of goods, open for sale to the Indians, and they came in great numbers and bought, sometimes of one trader and sometimes of another, as they were best suited and found the best bargains. Now all this was changed. The new proprietors of the trade only permitted one store to be opened for all trading. There was no competition. The Indians were not invited by the display, to make any more of the annual fair than of any other day and they soon ceased to come at stated times to do their trading. They had thought a good deal of Tonty and it was partly at their request that he had received his appointment. Now they were disappointed with him and asked for his recall.

Complaints were lodged against him, both by the citizens and Indians. To answer these charges Tonty went to Quebec and Picoté de Belestre was placed in command of Detroit during his absence. Tonty returned to Detroit without having accomplished much, but with a new enemy, for he had visited the home of Ramezay, the Major of Quebec, and was there publicly insulted by Ramezay's daughter, who accused him of bringing misfortune on her father. Such an affair as this was of great importance in the upper circles of French society of the time and portended no good to Tonty. In the

year 1724 he was again summoned to Quebec to answer charges made against him by La Marque, who had purchased some rights of Cadillac at Detroit and wanted to visit the place, but was prevented by Tonty.

While he was absent on this matter, the prominent citizens of Detroit, Pierre Chesne, Henry Campau, Louis Campau, Jacob de Marsac, Jacques de Gaudefroy and many others, drew up a paper protesting against the rule of Tonty and demanding his recall. They said he was old and had lost all of his spirit. The Huron Indians also threatened to leave their village near the post, and establish themselves at the Maumee river, unless they had another commandant. The threat of the Indians had a greater effect than the protest of the citizens, for if they moved to the Miami (Maumee) their trade would at once go to the English and that would not only ruin Detroit, but the whole country, so far as the French influences were concerned.

The French government did not properly sustain the post at this time. The Company of the Colony only wanted the country retained because of the fur trade, but that trade could not be fostered unless the English traders could be kept from invading the country. The French could not comprehend this fact then, though they saw it afterwards, when it was too late. At this time they did not maintain a sufficient garrison at Detroit to protect it and they did not foster its trade or induce the French civilians to go there to settle.

The place was falling into a gradual decay because of this neglect. The Historian Charlevoix visited it in 1721 and then noted that it was being deserted and abandoned. He writes as follows regarding it: "It is a long time since the importance of the place, still more the beauty of the country about the straits, has given ground to wish that some considerable settlements were made in this place; this has been tolerably well begun some fifteen years since, but certain causes, of which I am not informed, have reduced it almost

to nothing; those who are against it allege, first, that it would bring the trade for the northern furs too near the English, who, as they are able to afford their commodities to the Indians cheaper than we, would draw all that trade into the province of New York. Secondly, that the lands near the straits are not fertile, and that the whole surface to the depth of nine or ten inches consists of sand, below which is hard clay, impenetrable to the water; from whence it happens that the plains and interior parts of the woods are always drowned; that everywhere you see nothing but diminutive, ill-grown oaks and hard walnut trees, and that the trees having roots always under water, their fruits ripen very late. These reasons have not been unanswered; it is true that in the neighborhood of Fort Pontchartrain the lands have a mixture of sand, and that in the neighboring forests there are bottoms almost constantly under water, however, these very lands have produced wheat eighteen years successively without the least manure, and you have no great way to go to find the finest soil in the world. With respect to woods, without going a great way from the fort, I have seen, as I have been walking, such as may vie with our noblest forests."

This tribute of Charlevoix could not attract new settlers when the government itself was unwilling to encourage them to come. The land titles that had been granted by Cadillac had all been canceled and no new grants were made.

Tonty again visited Quebec in 1727, to welcome the entrance of the new governor, Beauharnois, but he did not make a favorable impression on the governor, and when the complaints of the Indians were received, Tonty was removed from his command. Beauharnois told the Indians that Tonty's term would expire in the spring of 1728.

Tonty, broken hearted at the result, returned to Detroit, there to end his days while he still held the office of commandant. He died Nov. 10, 1727.

Belestre, who had temporarily been in command in 1721-22, also died in Detroit, October 9, 1729.

The next was Jean Baptiste de St. Ours, sieur Deschaillons, who was appointed in 1728, but he only remained a short time as he feared to lose his chances of promotion in the army, if he settled down in the post as commandant.

In the spring of 1730, Louis Henry Deschamps, sieur de Boishebert became commandant and retained the office for three years, the usual term. He died in Montreal June 6, 1736. There was a slight improvement in Detroit affairs during his term of office. It was merely a start, but it continued to advance during the term of his successor, Ives Jacques Pean, sieur de Livaudiere, which extended from 1733 to 1736.

In the year 1735, Pean reported that there were between 1300 and 1400 minots (bushels) of wheat raised at Detroit, and that the price had fallen to three livres (about sixty cents) per minot. Some of this wheat could be exported. The usual exports from the country were only furs and maple sugar. In 1734 the village had become of sufficient importance to be recognized by the appointment of a sub-delegate, and royal notary. Robert Navarre was appointed to that office. He was in Detroit before his appointment and there married Marie Barrois Lothman, February 10, 1734. His office was of more than usual importance, for the public records, which were begun at this time, were kept by the notary and it was to him that every couple, before their marriage, went to have drawn and placed of record, the marriage contract that always preceded the church wedding. Navarre was much beloved by the people, among whom he acted as justice, notary, surveyor, collector and sub-delegate until the end of the French rule in 1760. After the British took possession, in that year, they retained Navarre in his office for many years and he continued in the confidence of the French community until his death, November 21, 1791.

A change in the feelings of the Quebec government to-

wards Detroit began to show itself in 1737, when the Intendant, Hocquart, wrote regarding it, that no permanent post could be established there until settlers could be induced to move there and settle upon and cultivate lands to which they could obtain good titles. There should be, at least, sixty men in the garrison with proper officers. Now there were only seventeen. At this time Nicolas Joseph Desnoyelles was the acting commandant. The appointment of the commandant was a prerogative of the Paris government and not of the Quebec government. Desnoyelles was chosen by Governor Beauharnois in 1736 and was directed to proceed at once to his post at Detroit. When this choice was reported to the King he rejected it. In the meantime Desnoyelles, in ignorance of the King's veto, proceeded to his post and served out the entire three years, from 1736 to 1739, before he was informed of his rejection. He was a comrade of Verandry, the explorer, on some of his trips and went west on an exploring expedition in 1744.

When it became known in 1738 that the King would not appoint Desnoyelles, the office was given to Pierre Jacques Payan de Noyan, sieur de Charvis, but he did not go to Detroit until 1739. De Noyan was a member of the Le Moyne (or Le Moine) family which gave so many important men to early Canada. Ten famous sons of Charles Le Moyne have left their names indelibly impressed upon the pages of the history of Canada and Louisiana. There was one daughter, Catherine Jeanne, who married Pierre Payan, sieur de Noyan, and the commandant at Detroit was the son of this daughter. He held that office from 1739 to 1742 and brought his family to Detroit. His son, Pierre Louis, was born there December 10, 1741. The father subsequently became major and governor of Montreal.

The village of Detroit and the adjacent settlement were now increasing in population. The farm lands on both sides of the river and along nearly its entire length, were being

taken up by farmers and placed in a state of cultivation. Every farm had a narrow frontage on the river. Only a few acres were cultivated, but a log house was built and an orchard planted. There was a road along the front as close to the river as possible. During the wet seasons of the year this road was impassable and then the neighbors communicated by boats on the river; for every family had a canoe. The people had cattle, sheep and horses. The latter were originally brought from France. There is no evidence that the Indians, in this part of the country, had any ponies before the coming of the Europeans. Mention is made of the one horse, Colon, which Cadillac had in the village at the time of his command, as the only equine in the country.

The farms were all very narrow and each fronted on the river. There was a two fold reason for this way of dividing the country. Every farm had its own water right and the dryest season never prevented a supply of water for necessary purposes. The farms were so narrow, and the houses on them so near to each other, that in case of danger, each house could signal to the next one without much delay or trouble.

The farms were from 40 to 80 arpents in depth. The French arpent, as a measure of distance, was 192.75 English feet, so that the depth of the farms was from one and one-half miles to three miles.

The lands in the country in the rear of these river farms was never granted, either by the French or British governments. The first grant of any considerable size was that made by the United States to Michigan Territory in 1806 of the Ten Thousand Acre Tract, now partly in the City of Detroit.

One of the most famous of Detroit's commandants was Pierre Joseph Celoron, sieur de Blainville, chevalier of the military order of St. Louis. He served as commandant from 1742 to 1744 and from 1750 to 1753. During the interval from 1744 to 1750 he was engaged in important affairs for his government. One of the most important of his works

during this time, and the one for which he is most generally known, was the planting of lead plates along the Ohio river in the year 1749 as an indication of the claims of France to that country. This work preceded the French-Indian war and the claims set up by France at that time were followed by aggressive action that resulted in the English not only driving the French from Ohio, but in taking Canada from them and converting it into an English possession.

Paul Joseph Le Moine, chevalier de Longueil was commandant from 1744 to 1748.

During Celoron's second term, the governor of Canada offered, as an inducement to people to settle at Detroit, to assist them with articles necessary to sustain them for two or three years. Each head of a family was given a farm, of the usual size, rations for the members from the military stores, tools and implements of husbandry. Many families came up and settled here under these inducements, and yet the plan was not very popular. The materials furnished these farmers in the way of tools and stock, were not gifts but loans, and were expected to be repaid when the people became permanently settled. A full list of these emigrants has been preserved, containing the names of fifty-four heads of families.

Many of the newcomers were young men without wives, and young women were so scarce that Celoron wrote to ask for girls to become wives to the young farmers.

Many of Celoron's children were born in Detroit. One of his daughters, Marie Madeleine, became a member of the order of Grey Nuns of Montreal, and in 1777 his widow became a member of the same order under the name of Sister Marie Catherine Eury Laperelle. She died in Montreal, November 4, 1797. One of the islands in Detroit river is named in honor of this commandant, Celoron.

Jacques Pierre Daneau, sieur de Muy, was commandant until his death, May 18, 1758, when the command fell upon the second officer, Jean Baptiste Henry Beranger. This com-

mand was only temporary and the last French officer to hold that position, Francois Marie Picoté, sieur de Belestre, came in 1758 and remained until he was carried away a prisoner of the English in 1760.

The village and country had grown in population to such an extent that it furnished one hundred militia to assist in the war with England. This body marched to Niagara, only to learn, as they approached that place, that they were too late and that the fort there had already capitulated. They immediately turned and marched back to Detroit.

Belestre was a son of the man by the same name, who was in Detroit during the time of Tonty and who died there in 1729. His mother had been the widow of Jean Cuillerier, and he was therefore closely related to the Cuillerier or Beaubien family. He was a capable and energetic officer, taking part in many of the important military affairs of Canada, leading a detachment in the battle of Braddock's defeat and acting as commandant at St. Joseph and other places.

After the transfer of Canada to England he occupied important places under the new government and died in Quebec in 1793.

To this man, our own Judge Campbell, in his History of Michigan, pays a fine tribute.

A few words of a general nature might be said regarding the entire period of French occupancy. There were no Indians there when Cadillac came, for the country was in a neutral zone between the antagonistic Iroquois and Algonquin Indians. The land was entirely uncultivated when the French first came in 1701 and their tillage was so superficial that the soil was never exhausted by them. They could have raised great crops if they had desired, but this was of little use so long as the population was sparse and nearly every family had a farm. Wheat sometimes sold for twenty to twenty-five livres per minot (four to five dollars per bushel, a livre was about twenty cents), and again it sold, as we have seen, for

sixty cents. Peas, ten to twelve livres; Indian corn, fifteen to eighteen livres; tobacco, forty to fifty sols (cents) per pound; eggs, twenty to twenty-five sols per dozen; onions, five livres per hundred. A cow brought up to one hundred livres ($20) and a calf thirty livres ($6).

The people sold produce to the Indians, and to a few of the town people, but these were about all the customers they had. None of the people, either within or without the village, baked their own bread. This work was almost universally done by the public baker, as it is at the present time in many European cities. Occasionally the farmer supplied voyageurs who were passing along the river with goods to the upper posts. Powder, one of the most important articles brought up from below, sold at forty sols per pound, and knives for four livres, ten sols per dozen.

The trade of the post was, until about 1727, in the hands of the commandant, but this plan resulted in such grevious oppressions that it was thereafter made free. At this time the post had fallen very low and there were only 28 or 30 heads of families left. In that year it was officially proposed that if the owners of the trade licenses would accept 500 livres for their rights, and give up the post, that it would be abandoned and destroyed. "We shall have a post," the report states, "abandoned, 300 leagues from Montreal, with no provision made for the garrison, the maintenance of which will fall on the King again, contrary to his will."

Besides the notarial records kept by Navarre, which have recently been found, the records of the Church of Ste. Anne contain the most authentic information regarding the growth of the place. The following statistics are compiled from the church records. The Church of Ste. Anne was first built in 1701 and destroyed by fire in 1703. Possibly these records contain the announcement of the birth of a child to Madam Cadillac, but that was the only event that occurred in the two years. The records since 1704 are complete.

Years	Baptisms	Marriages	Deaths
1700 to 1710	94	3	13
1720	43	7	15
1730	106	16	44
1740	156	27	73
1750	236	24	114
1760	363	70	216
1770	351	80	217
1780	476	60	182
1790	551	80	219
1800	914	167	367
Total	3,290	534	1,460

After 1760 all Catholics, English as well as French, attended this church and there were many Protestants married and baptised there, it being the only church organization.

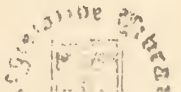
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS in NTH AMERICA Laid down agreeable to the PROCLAMATION of Octr 7. 1763.
James's Bay
Limits of the Hudsons Bay Company
Lake Superior
Burnts Lake
Limits settled by ye Treaty of Paris
Lake Erie
Government of Newfoundland
Gulf of Newfoundland
St Laurence R.
The Fishing Banks
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LOUISIANA
Mississippi R.
Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Charlestown
Port Royal
West Florida
East Florida
St Augustin
Pensacola
GULF of MEXICO
Bahama Islands
Cuba
Bermuda or Summer Islands.
Nth Lat. 32. 10 W. Lon. 47. 5
Miles
West Longitude from Ferro

Detroit Under British Rule.

THIS country was French territory from the time of the early French explorers until the fall of Quebec in 1759. In 1760, Montreal also capitulated to the British forces, and late in that year, Major Robert Rogers—the intrepid New England ranger—came to Detroit with a company of soldiers, and accepted the surrender of the place from the last French commandant, Picoté de Belestre. The people of Detroit had not taken a very active part in the war then existing between France and England, but a few Americans were prisoners at the post when Rogers came. It might properly be stated, however, that Rogers was the first English speaking American to visit Detroit as an English possession.

It has been repeatedly stated that the French were a merry making people—so much inclined to frivolity and pleasure, that the cares of business made little impression on their minds —that the troubles of the day were laid aside as the night came on, and the evenings were filled with jocularity. They are represented as being simple and innocent—relying upon their priest to settle all their troubles, contented with whatever decision he might make. I believe this idea of Acadian simplicity is entirely wrong, and that there was no great difference between the French of 1760 and the French of to-day.

The little village, which occupied a space of about two acres of land, was surrounded by a high fence or palisade



made of young trees, cut about fifteen feet long, imbedded deeply in the ground, and extending above its surface some ten or twelve feet. The houses within the enclosure were huddled together—the streets were very narrow—ten or twelve feet, with the exception of the principal street—Ste. Anne street—which was about twenty feet wide. The people were strict church goers, but very worldly withal. The courts of Quebec testify to the constant quarrels and law suits that they indulged in, but as Quebec was a long distance away, and as it took a long time to settle a quarrel through the courts, a more primitive method of procedure was generally obtained. When a dispute arose between two parties and no settlement could be arrived at, they chose three arbitrators to determine the matter. The award of the arbitrators was enforced by the citizens, for the person who refused to abide by the determination of the arbitrators, was not permitted to engage in trade, nor was he trusted or associated with by the other citizens. Of necessity he soon came to the conclusion that he must conform to the award in order to live in the community. The military commandant also lent the assistance of his authority to enforce the award, and this he did very harshly sometimes. This method was employed by the English after 1760 and until the establishment of courts, near the end of the British rule. The French people generally got along well with the Indians, but they were afraid of them, and were usually prepared for treachery. At the time of the siege of Detroit by Pontiac in 1763, the French, or Canadians, remained on their farms outside of the village and few of them were molested by the Indians. They lost their cattle and such things as the Indians could steal or eat, but their lives were spared, while no Englishman dared to expose himself to the fury of the savages for the greater portion of the year that the siege lasted.

The farms in the neighborhood of the village were all owned and cultivated by the Canadians. Most of them also

owned houses within the village enclosure, or were so situated that they could remove to the village for protection whenever the savages became troublesome.

Some writers have claimed that the French farmers were slothful and negligent of their farms and of their crops. I think this is true, but certainly there was no inducement to live otherwise. Each farmer only cultivated a few acres of land, and raised but little more than was necessary to support himself and his family. The village was so small in proportion to the number of farmers, that there was little opportunity to sell the farm products, and there was no inducement to do good farming.

The exportation of furs was the only business that brought an income to the settlement from abroad. The farmers were also hunters and trappers, and most of them bought furs from the Indians and sold them to the traders in the post. The traders brought from Montreal, powder and lead, brandy and trinkets—beads—fancy dress goods, and little ornaments to please the Indians. These were placed on sale or exchanged for furs. The Province of Quebec was organized by proclamation of King George III. in 1763, but Detroit was not in the lines of that province and was thereafter and until 1774, in the Indian country.

Within a very few years after the British came they had monopolized the trade in furs, and the Canadians were driven either to live on their farms, or to join the Indians in the chase. They did both. Living upon their farms they cultivated a little patch of ground during the summer season, but they left everything to the care of the women and younger children, and took to the woods as soon as the hunting season began. Even during the summer, a large portion of the farm work was done by the women, while the men spent their time fishing, and in associating with the Indians with whom they were on terms of the closest intimacy.

While the village never took any active part either in the

French and Indian War, or in the War of the Revolution, it was never quite at rest, nor did its people ever remain long in peaceful security.

The French-Indian War was not ended before the Siege of Detroit by Pontiac began—and the people had scarcely recovered from the fright of that experience, when they were again threatened with an Indian uprising. A few years of progress and growth followed, and then came the rumors of war in the far East.

In April 1775, the battle of Lexington was fought and the war for the emancipation of America began.

At the outbreak of the war there were a few British soldiers stationed at Detroit. There was no fort here, but there was a citadel located near the intersection of Jefferson avenue and Wayne streets, on the western side of the village. This citadel consisted of a parade ground with barracks capable of holding two or three hundred soldiers.

The French citizens never took kindly to the English, and although there was no open threat of a revolt or opposition to the constituted authorities, it was thought best to station an extra number of British soldiers at the place.

There was also appointed to Detroit, as a civil commandant, a lieutenant governor, Henry Hamilton.

In the colonies there were numbers of families that did not want to take an active part in the war, and for the purpose of avoiding complications, they moved westward into the Ohio Valley. These newcomers aroused the Indians to attack them, and soon the British agents succeeded in attaching the various Indian tribes to their interests.

Detroit now became the headquarters for the Indians, and the depot for the distribution of the great stores of goods that were annually sent up for them. The goods for distribution among the Indians were furnished by the British government, and consisted of clothing, cheap blankets with bright colors, fancy knives, scarlet cloth, ruffled shirts, laced

hats and other similar articles. The demands of the Indians for these goods became so great, that the governor was frightened at the expense, and was constantly making excuses to his government to show the necessity for his seeming extravagance. Whenever the Indians came to the council the squaws would strip them of their clothing in order that they might appear destitute, and thus be able to make demands for new clothing. The drafts drawn by the commandant in one year for these supplies were as follows:

September, 1780.....	£	42,714	7s. 11d.
January, 1781.....		44,962	6s. 11½d.
September, 1781.....		55,225	13s. 6¼d.
Making a total of.....	£	142,902	8s. 4¾d.

In addition to this great amount, there were other and probably larger quantities of goods sent to the merchants, and by them sold to the citizens and Indians. The government gave to the Indians as little rum as possible, but the traders were willing to sell them all they could buy. Rum was a necessity to the Indians, and they would get it in some way.

About the time the war began, the traders in the village formed what might be termed a "rum trust." They agreed to place all their rum in one store, and employ one or more clerks to see that it was properly disposed of and the avails divided pro rata among the members of the trust. If any other person brought rum into the district to undersell them, they shipped liquor to the place where the rival was established and undersold the intruder until he was willing to quit or to join them.

This worked only for a short time, and then dissatisfaction broke out, and the "trust" was dissolved.

There was some attempt to conform to legal methods in the punishment of crimes during the early administration of governor Hamilton. There were two justices of the peace appointed in Detroit, Philippe Dejean and Gabriel Legrand.

The exact powers of the justice were not laid down in any work on criminal procedure at that time, but Dejean did not propose to underestimate his authority. In 1777, a storehouse belonging to Abbott and Finchley was plundered and set fire to, and a Frenchman named Jean Coutencinau and a negress named Ann Wiley, or Nancy Wiley, were arrested and bought before Dejean for trial. They were accorded a jury trial and were acquitted on the charge of arson but convicted of robbery. It is very probable that the justice exceeded his powers even in trying the parties for the offenses charged, but he was not contented with trying them, and after the conviction, they were both sentenced to be hung. The high handed methods adopted by the justice surprised the people, and he could get no one to act as hangman until Hamilton promised the woman he would pardon her if she would act as executioner on the man. The result was that Coutencinau was hanged, and the woman was liberated.

In this matter, the justice had the support of governor Henry Hamilton, but this act and the hanging of a man named Ellers, in 1775, so aroused the citizens, that they complained to the authorities in Montreal. A grand jury was called there and both Hamilton and Dejean were indicted for murder and a warrant was issued for their arrest.

It seems strange and unaccountable sometimes, to have affairs of great moment and importance turn upon apparently insignificant events. Hamilton was so frightened at the knowledge that a warrant for his arrest was issued, that he gathered together all the troops he could at Detroit—stripped the country of all the provisions he could carry, and started for Vincennes, Indiana. Just before he reached that place, General George Rogers Clark had passed through Vincennes on his way to Kaskaskia. Clark had left the post in charge of Captain Helm, and one soldier. When Hamilton reached Vincennes, he demanded the surrender from Helm and after some negotiations, the place was given up to him. Clark

heard of Hamilton's visit, and returned at once and captured Hamilton and his entire army, and the next day he took Dejean a prisoner also.

Those who have read "Alice of Old Vincennes" are familiar with the story of this capture, which Mr. Maurice Thompson has woven into his romance. The surprising part of the transaction is that on this event, in part at least, hung the fate of the entire northwest territory. In the making of the final treaty at the close of the Revolutionary War, our government claimed this territory partly by right of conquest in the capture of Henry Hamilton and Phillippe Dejean.

So the lives of Eller and Coutencinau were sacrificed that the great Northwest, composing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan might become a part of the New United States, and to subsequently form five members of the great sisterhood of states.

I have said that the French people at Detroit never were cordial to the English, although they took no active part against them. When the news of Clark's victory reached the village, the Canadians (as the French were generally called) celebrated the event by a big bonfire, notwithstanding the presence of the British soldiery under Major Arent Schuyler DePeyster.

DePeyster was an officer in the army and was the military commandant at Detroit after Hamilton left. Hamilton had been a civil officer only. DePeyster, in many ways, undertook to mollify the French and at the same time to keep on good terms with the English and Indians. He was American born, a descendant of the Dutch families of New York. Somewhat light-hearted and jovial in his disposition, he entered into the pleasantries and amusements of the English and native Canadians on all occasions. He was something of a poet also, and he is best known by the fact that the last poem of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns, was addressed to him.

A book of his writings, mostly poems, printed in Dumfries, Scotland, in 1813, is on one of the shelves in my library.

One of the pastimes most commonly indulged in at this time, and in all subsequent times till the present, was racing on the ice in winter and ending the down river trip with a feast at the river Rouge (Red River). No one would justly accuse Major DePeyster of being a poet, though he thought himself one, but for the sake of the old time, I will include a song written by him called the Red River, "descriptive of the diversion of Carioling, or straying upon the ice at the post of Detroit in North America."

In winter, when rivers and lakes do cease flowing,
The Limnades (Lake Nymphs) to warm shelter all fled;
When ships are unrigged, and their boats do cease rowing,
'Tis then we drive up and down sweet River Red.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
Where swift carioling is dear to me ever;
While frost-bound, the *Dunmore,* the *Gage,* and *Endeavor,*
Your ice bears me on to a *croupe en grillade,*

Our bodies wrapped up in a robe lined with sable,
A mask o'er the face, and fur cap on the head,
We drive out to dinner—where there is no table,
No chairs we can sit on, or stools in their stead.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
Where sweet carioling is dear to me ever;
To woods, where on bear skins, we sit down so clever,
While served with the *Marquis** with *croupe en grillade.*

"Une Verre de Madeir," with his aspect so pleasing,
He serves to each lady, (who takes it in turn),
And says, *"Chere Madame, dis will keep you* from freezing,
Was warm you within where the fire it would burn."
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
For your carioling is dear to me ever;
Where served by the *Marquis* so polite and clever,
With smiles, and Madeir, and a *croupe en grillade.*

*Guillaume Lamótte, the Marquis, was a captain in the Indian Department during the Revolutionary War. He was a prominent and enthusiastic leader of the Indians in their Ohio incursions. He remained in Detroit many years, and became an American citizen.

Gov. Woodbridge speaks of him as late as 1815, performing the same duties for pleasure parties on the Rouge, as does DePeyster in 1784.

The gobblet goes round, while sweet echo's repeating
The words which have passed through each fair lady's lips;
Wild deer (with projected long ears) leave off eating,
And bears sit attentive, erect on their hips.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
Your fine wooded banks shall be dear to me ever,
Where echo repeats Madame's *Chancon* so clever,
Distinctly you hear it say—*croupe en grillade.*

The fort gun proclaims when 'tis time for returning,
Our pacers all eager at home to be fed;
We leave all the fragments, and wood clove for burning,
For those who may next drive up sweet River Red.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
On you, carioling, be dear to me ever,
Where wit and good humor were ne'er known to sever,
While drinking a glass to a *croupe en grillade.*

It will not be necessary, or perhaps best, to attempt to give any more of the "poem." The Dunmore, Gage and Endeavour were three small vessels, the largest on the lakes then that were wintered in the river Rouge.

The sleighing party, clad in furs and with faces covered with masks to protect them from the flying snowballs from the horses feet, raced up and down the river until tired and hungry. They then partook of refreshments served in the open air by a Frenchman named Guillaume LaMotte, a "character" from the fort. The dinner consisted largely of wild turkey, bear and venison meats. The Major would make us believe that the wild deer and bears came from the woods, and watched them at their repast. They did not cease their racing until the fort gun proclaimed it was time for returning.

Before we leave the times and events of the Revolutionary War, a portion of a letter written by Mr. John Askin, at Mackinac, to Jehu Hay, who was in the Indian department, and who subsequently succeeded Henry Hamilton as Lieutenant Governor at Detroit might be of interest. In explanation of the letter, it will be recalled that only one event of great

importance took place near Albany in the winter of 1777 and 1778, and that was the surrender of the British General Bourgoyne with some six thousand troops, to the American General Gates, in October 1777. Mr. Askin at Mackinac, received the news before it could reach Detroit, as it came to him over the Northern or Ottawa route, while the earliest comers to Detroit waited until the lake and river were free from ice. Of course we know that the news Mr. Askin furnished was entirely false; following, in that respect, much of the newspaper news we get today, but such news as he had was probably interesting to the British soldiers, to whom he furnished it. The letter is dated June 4, 1778, and reads as follows: "The two vessels, the first canoes from Detroit, and the Ottawa Indians going to war, all arrived yesterday; the latter are now dancing at my door. My things coming on shore in the greatest confusion and the Angelica preparing to sail; all this shall not deprive me of the pleasure of writing you a few lines in answer to your obliging letters. The news is that General Clinton's army defeated General Gates below Albany, and killed him with 7000 of his people, which prevented any attempt against Canada last winter."

The news given by this letter was far more interesting and exciting than true. It would make a good "scare head" for a modern newspaper.

Major DePeyster remained in Detroit some time after the preliminary Treaty of Peace between England and America of 1782. He was military commandant, and also had charge of the civil affairs of the village. The people were so unaccustomed to cleanliness in village affairs, that they were in the habit of dumping their garbage and filth in the river in front of the post. It seems almost incomprehensible that they should not have carried this refuse even a short distance below the fortification, but they did not, and the danger of disease springing from this filthiness, induced the major to offer the river front, which was public property, to the citizens, upon

condition that they would fill in the shallow spaces with earth, so that whatever was dumped in the river would pass down with the current.

At the close of the war, England agreed to surrender Detroit and the other frontier posts to the United States, but she refused to carry out the agreement, and it was not until thirteen years after the war closed—not until 1796—that Detroit was in the actual possession of our government. During this period the laws of Canada governed the village. Courts were established and at least one election to parliament was held here. The first and only Canadian judge appointed by the Canadian government for Detroit was William Dummer Powell, and although he continued to be a Canadian justice during his life, and filled that position with great honor, he was an American, having been born in Boston before the revolution. There were three members of parliament from Detroit, D. W. Smith, who lived at Niagara, but was elected in Detroit and who was subsequently surveyor general of Canada; Alexander Grant, who was commonly called the Commodore of the lakes, from his having charge of the British armed vessels on the upper lakes, and who lived at Grosse Pointe; and William Macomb, the ancestor of one branch of the Macomb family in Detroit, and the uncle of General Alexander Macomb.

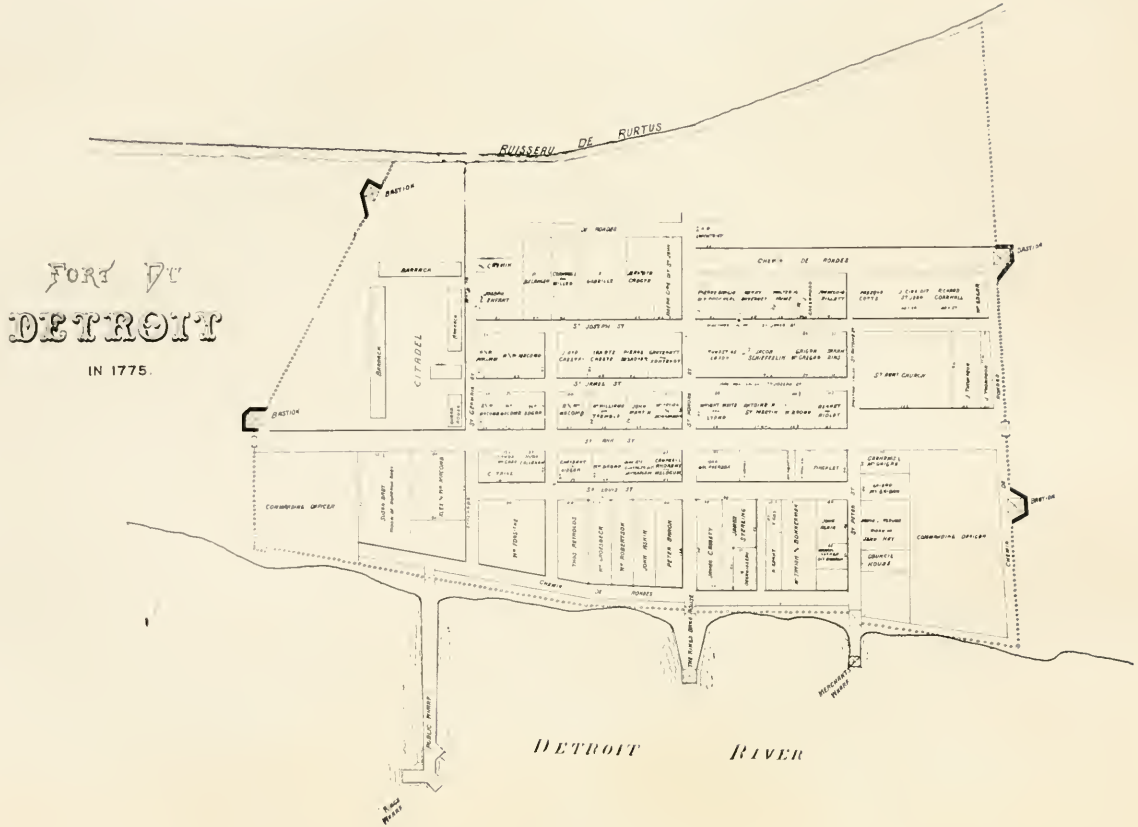
The village authorities consisted of the Justices of the Peace, appointed by the governor of Upper Canada. They could make some rules for the government of the village, and doubtless had power to enforce them. Among the official documents of this period is a long list of people in the village who violated the rules laid down for their governance; a few read as follows:

Mr. William Scott complained of for allowing two cows to run at large in the streets; Mr. Girardin, Mr. Dolson and several others committed the same offense; George McDougal left his cart in the street at night. Mr. Fraro's apprentice boy

galloped his horse through the street. Hogs were daily found at large in the streets and their owners complained of. Mr. Baby had provided no ladders either for his own house, or for another which he owned and leased. Ladders were necessary in order to reach the roofs of the houses in case of fire, though you will recall that only a few years later neither ladders, nor buckets, nor the work of willing hands could save even a single house in the village, when, in 1805, every house, save one, was destroyed in open day.

Citizens were repeatedly complained of for having chimneys in a dangerous state, and no person, however high in authority, was exempt from inspection and complaint. William Macomb, member of parliament, and a wealthy trader, Lieutenant Hill, an officer in the Regulars, the Reverend J. Fitchet, probably a Chaplain, and the fife major of garrison, were all in the list of delinquents.

The entire village was located between Griswold street on the east, Wayne street on the west, the high bank of the river a little below Jefferson avenue, on the south, and Larned street on the north. From Larned street to a short distance above Congress street, was a low marshy tract of land through which ran a little creek. At the wet season of the year, this creek was so large that, even as late as 1830, there was a bridge over it where it crossed Woodward avenue, but in dry seasons it contained very little water. Even within the recollection of many persons now living, the lands now occupied by Grand Circus Park, and extending easterly, and southerly through Miami avenue and down to Congress street, were too wet to be cultivated. Some of the lands on Madison avenue were given by our city government to the Catholic Church for a burial ground in 1817, but as late as 1834, the church reported to the Common Council that the lots were low, covered with water a large portion of the year, and wholly unfitted for cemetery purposes. The city then permitted the church to sell the lots, and purchase some higher and dryer land for its use.


FORT ST
DETROIT
IN 1775.
BUISSERY DE RURTUS
BASTION
BASTION
BASTION
BASTION
CITADEL
BARRACK
BARRACK
CHEMIN DE RONDES
CHEMIN DE RONDES
ST JOSEPH ST
ST JAMES ST
ST ANNE ST
ST LOUIS ST
ST ANNE CHURCH
COMMANDING OFFICER
COMMANDING OFFICER
COMMANDING OFFICER
CHEMIN DE RONDES
THE KING'S GRIST MILLS
MERCHANTS WHARF
PUBLIC WHARF
PUBLIC WHARF
DETROIT RIVER

Detroit Under American Rule.

WHEN the Americans came in 1796, there was a great rejoicing among nearly all the people, but a few, who did not want to become citizens, either refused to take the oath of allegiance, or moved across the river to Sandwich. The Americans brought with them new courts and a great influx of new citizens. The laws were not greatly changed, for Detroit had been under English laws for many years. The trial by jury always prevailed under the British and the greater part of our own laws originated in Great Britain.

General Wayne was the officer in command of the first soldiers who came here, and Winthrop Sargent, who came with him, was the acting governor of the Northwest Territory. Sargent at once proclaimed the boundaries of a new country, and named it Wayne, in honor of the General. What a county Wayne was! It commenced at the Cuyahoga river, the middle of the present city of Cleveland, and extended westward to the Mississippi river, including the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and all of Michigan, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota. Detroit was the county seat of the great County, and it grew rapidly in population from this time. In 1802, Ohio became a state, and Detroit was incorporated as a village of the territory of Indiana. In 1805, Michigan became a territory, and its first officers were William Hull, governor, Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Frederick Bates and John Griffin, judges.

Bates lived in Detroit before his appointment, but Hull did not reach the place until June 12, 1805, and he found

what had been the village, only a mass of ashes and smoldering embers. It had been destroyed by fire the day before. As many of the people as could be accommodated, were taken into the fort, which occupied the site of present postoffice, and the others camped on the commons in such places as they could find. The garrison furnished some tents, and some slept in the open air. In all history I do not recall another instance of the complete destruction of a village such as Detroit suffered at this time.

Everything was in the utmost confusion, and remained so for a long time. There were no great mills to turn out lumber for new houses, but the people set to work, almost in desperation, and prepared habitations for the coming winter.

One great good that resulted from the fire was the laying out of a new plan for the village on a larger scale. During the winter of 1805-6 Congress passed laws authorizing the platting of the new village and distribution of lots to those who lived in the settlement before the fire. The resurrection of the village was rapid, but the site changed somewhat, and stores were built on Woodward avenue below Jefferson avenue, and on the side streets. An attempt was made to divert the center of trade to the corner of Randolph and Atwater street, but the attempt only demonstrated that it is not within the power of man to control the movement of the center of trade of a city. No new picket line was established around the new village until a little before the commencement of the war of 1812. The people then became frightened at the threats of an Indian uprising, and a new picket line was built, extended from the governor's house, where the Biddle house now stands, northerly along Randolph to Cadillac Square, and thence along that street and Michigan avenue to the old picket line at Wayne street, and thence to the river. Just outside this picket line on the east, was the farm of Elijah Brush. Mr. Brush was an attorney who had come to the village shortly after the American occupancy, and who

became prominent in village affairs, and a man of influence and wealth. He married Adelaide, the daughter of John Askin, who then resided on the Canadian side of the river. Mr. Askin was deeply involved in debt, and his son-in-law took from him the present Brush farm and agreed to pay the purchase price to Askin's Montreal creditors. It was with much privation and hard work that he was enabled to carry out his contract, but he worked with indomitable will and finally left the farm as a rich legacy to the support of his descendants to the fourth generation, who are now living from its income, and it bids fair to last at least another generation.

The War of the Revolution did not end with the treaty of peace in 1783, nor with the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in 1794, nor with the surrender of the frontier posts in 1796. It ended only with the treaty of peace that followed the war of 1812. It may be that the United States was not entirely justified in declaring war in June of that year, but it is very probable that war would have soon come, no matter what we desired, for the feeling always existed in military circles of Great Britain, that the rebel colonies were only waiting for a chance to reattach themselves to the mother country, and it took another war to disabuse them of this idea. The war of 1812 found us totally unprepared for a conflict. The man who was in charge of the western army, Governor William Hull, was entirely unfitted to hold such a position. He was a brave soldier and officer in the Revolution, and it is probable that no one could ever question his personal bravery, but he was not the proper person to be placed in charge of a large detachment of troops with no superior officer on whom he could rely for directions.

Coming to Detroit with his army just at the time war was declared, he crossed the river, invaded Canada and took up a position at Sandwich. The Canadian force then at Fort Malden, or Amherstburg, was inferior to his own, and he could, without doubt, have captured the place, and could, pos-

sibly, have annexed all of Canada to the United States. With his waiting, he permitted the augmentation of the Canadian force, until it was nearly as large as his own, and he feared to proceed against it. He remained a month in Canada, with his army, and then retreated to Detroit. At this time the forces in Amherstburg were under Col. Henry Procter. The acting governor of Upper Canada was General Isaac Brock, who was then detained with the Canadian Parliament at York (now Toronto). Dissolving the session of parliament, Brock proceeded at once to Amherstburg with additional reinforcements. With a daring and bravery that should be commended alike by friend and foe—for bravery is honored wherever it is found—he hastily followed in the retreating footsteps of Governor Hull, and within a very few days—less than a week—after his arrival at Fort Malden, he had passed up the Canadian side of the river to Sandwich, where he planted his battery; crossed the river at Springwells, landing at the grounds where now is established the Solvay Process and marching up the river accepted from Governor Hull, the surrender of the entire northwest portion of the United States almost without firing a gun.

On the old flag staff in the fort, which stood on the south side of Fort street a short distance west of Shelby street, there was run up the white flag of surrender, a little before noon on the sixteenth of August, 1812. It is said that no American flag was ever after floated from this pole. It fell a few years later, and the stump of it is now preserved in the Museum of Art.

The militia of Detroit under the command of Major James Witherell and Major Elijah Brush, were paroled, as were also the Ohio Militia, but the regulars, with General Hull, were sent as prisoners to Montreal, and were subsequently exchanged. Hull, himself, in deep disgrace, was permitted to return to his old home in Massachusetts, where he was confronted with charges of cowardice and treason. He was tried

by court martial in Albany, in 1814, and was found guilty of cowardice and sentenced to be shot. The President remitted the death penalty, but dismissed him from the army in disgrace.

Almost a hundred years have passed and during that time constant efforts have been made by Hull and his descendants to prove to the world that he was innocent of the grave charges laid at his door. It will be remembered that Hull's grandson, General Joseph Wheeler, was in Detroit two years since inspecting the grounds occupied by the two armies, for the purpose of proving that Hull was justified in surrendering as he did.

Lewis Cass, soon after, received the appointment of Governor of Michigan, although, as he said, Detroit was a frontier post that was scarcely worth retention by our government.

During the war, every person who could well leave Detroit, did so, and its population was diminished by half before the year of the British occupation was ended. Procter remained as military and civil governor under the British. Judge Woodward also remained for a time, but he refused to act in any other capacity than a civilian to look after the welfare of the Americans, and he left to prefer charges of cruelty and incivility against Procter.

The Battle of Lake Erie was won by Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry on September 10, 1813, and on hearing of the result Procter evacuated Detroit, and hastened to the interior of Canada. He was rapidly followed by General William Henry Harrison, overtaken on the River Thames, brought to battle, severely beaten, and a large portion of his army captured.

Cass came to Detroit as governor shortly after this, and at the same time the old citizens began to return to their homes.

Brush had died, but Witherell, Woodward, Griffin, Solo-

mon Sibley, and many others returned and many new names appear in the list of citizens.

Reuben Attwater had been the secretary before the war, but had left when the war broke out. Cass persuaded the President to appoint William Woodbridge to this office, and when Attwater found this out, he called on the President and asked why he had been removed. He told the President he was always ready and willing to return to Detroit, but that he had never been asked to do so. The President told him that it should not have been necessary to ask him to return to Detroit as he had never been directed to leave the place.

The salary attached to the office of Secretary was not sufficient to suit Woodbridge, and he retained the appointment as secretary—neither accepting nor rejecting it, for some time. He wrote to Cass and to many of his political friends that he could not accept the office with the inadequate salary. He wanted the allowance increased in some way, and finally he succeeded in getting the double appointment of secretary and collector of customs and subsequently, for several years, drew salaries for both offices, and at one time, for one year, held a third important office of delegate to Congress. After he had received the appointment of secretary and collector, he wrote that he would visit Detroit and look over the ground and if the situation was satisfactory, he would accept the offices. Starting from his Marietta home in December, 1814, and proceeding by slow conveyance over the frozen marshes and through the almost trackless forests, he did not reach Detroit until the middle of January, 1815, and by this time, peace had been declared between the two countries, though the news of this event had not then reached the settlement. Woodbridge was pleased with his new home, and wrote entertainingly of the prospects ahead of him here. He at once entered into the gaieties of the Military post—his offices giving him an entrance into the most refined and polite society of the place. As entertaining a description of the life of the post as can any-

where be found, is contained in one of the long home letters that Governor Woodbridge wrote at this time. The first part of the letter is dated February 17, 1815, though it appears that Mr. Woodbridge was several days in writing it. It reads as follows:

"I received, a few days ago, a letter from Mr. H. Brush, enclosing one for his late cousin's widow, Mrs. Adelaide Brush, of this place. I had heard much of this lady's steadiness of deportment and general good sense. She is, by birth, an English subject, and an inhabitant of Canada. Her father now has of children and grandchildren in the British service, seventeen. Her connections and other circumstances have given rise to imputations against the good faith of her late husband: Whether they be well founded, I do not know. I called upon her soon after coming here. She lives in an old one story house just without the town, pleasantly enough situated, near the banks of the Detroit river. The farm is one of the best in the country, and has on it some of the best fruit. All the farms in this country are strangely laid out, having in general the width of from two to six square acres in front, and running two or three miles back. Mrs. Brush lives snugly and her house looks neat. She has some of the handsomest little children I have ever seen. She is simple and unostentatious in her manners, and very cordially pressed me to return. I have since called upon her, took a ride of some eight or ten miles in her cariole with her, on the ice, and returned to tea. She gave me a good cup of tea, and I was pleased with her conversation. She seems to possess a substantially good mind. She is perhaps 28 or 30 years old. On the day of my ride with her, there was a "beefsteak" party to the river Rouge, about six or seven miles from here. It was composed of from fifteen to twenty gentlemen, officers and citizens. I did not of course, partake of it. Some of the Kentucky officers getting tipsy, an affray took place toward the conclusion of the party, and some black eyes were the consequence.

Yesterday another "beefsteak" party to the river Rouge was made up, composed of ladies and gentlemen, from fifteen to thirty, perhaps. We set out about twelve o'clock, each gentleman taking his lass, his bottle, his gook, his pye, his uncooked meat, his plates, etc. for himself and partner in his cariole. When I arrived (being with Judge May) they were dancing. We had two good fiddlers and enough American ladies to make up a dance. Being Lent, the few French ladies present only looked on. The gentlemen fell to assisting the servants, set the table and prepared a very good dinner. About three, the party sat down to dinner, and before dark we had returned home. In this party there was no gambling, which is seldom the case here. The inhabitants most generally play cards in all their parties, and the officers gamble a great deal. Formerly, I am told, the citizens of the place most usually had their River Rouge or other parties of this sort once a week during the winter, or at least as long as the sleighing lasts. At this party I again saw Mrs. Hunt. She is perhaps 28 years old, she is still quite handsome, has rosy cheeks, and dances with great animation. Mr. Hunt, her husband, is but little older than she—they are, perhaps as well the happiest, as they certainly are the handsomest couple in Detroit. They have been married several years, but have no children. She too, was originally a British subject. Mr. Hunt is a wealthy merchant of Detroit. He keeps a cariole worth a hundred dollars, perhaps, a plated harness and valuable horses. Mrs. Hunt, I think, improves on acquaintance.

I feel anxious to hear how you have borne up against the terribly cold weather, which, I am told, extended through Ohio, as well as this country, three or four weeks ago. Colder it has been here, I am told, than has been known for sixteen or twenty years. Our prospects of quietness continue here. There is scarcely a possibility of an hostile attack here this winter, and but very little chance of any hostile disturbance in the spring or summer. Much, however, will depend on the

military operations of next spring at the upper end of Lake Ontario.

With respect to our ultimate establishment here, I have thought much, but can come to no decided opinion. For pleasantness you will rarely have seen a country equal to this, but I am afraid this cold climate will not agree with you. Consumptions are not very prevalent, and very rarely occur, I am told. Another objection, and an important one, is the very high price of property here. I cannot buy any comfortable house here for less than about $5,000. What can we do? Our ultimate determination must be suspended I think, until my return here next fall. I think Mr. Palmer may get a very good farm, down on the river Rouge, within from five to eight miles from here, and that distance in this level country is nothing.

Having written to you so recently and so frequently, by private opportunities, as well as by the mail, I think I shall retain this letter until next week. After that I may tell you more about our ball of the 22d. ins't. It is with much pain that I mingle with these people so much, but I feel myself obliged to do it. Did I not do it, it would be ungrateful in me, and by them would be considered unaccountable austerity, but I shall have this to console me, that after I become acquainted, and my debut made, we together, can hereafter choose our own course, and then it will not be deemed ostentatious singularity. In the meantime, I do not consider myself at home. It is all fatigue duty with me. Mr. May's house here, is most pleasantly situated. It commands an unobstructed and most beautiful view of the river. It has annexed to it perhaps two-thirds of an acre of ground and a barn. It is a one story gable roof house, having four rooms on the first floor, beside a hall or front entry running through the house and opening on a piazza. It has, I am told, some good chambers up stairs, and on each end a brick building perhaps 20 feet or more square, one used as a kitchen, the other as

an office, and this building can, I suppose, be procured for less than $5,000, which here is considered cheap. The house is of stone and is finished with plain neatness.

February 25th.

The face of things is quite changed—instead of glowing anticipations of ruined cornfields, burning houses, of scalped women and children, and all the horrors of war and desolation, we have the cheering news of peace, plenty and prosperity. This cheering intelligence reached here from Washington city in the most wonderful period of five days. A letter from the Postmaster General dated on the fourteenth (the day of the arrival of the treaty) reached me about nine A. M. of the 20th. Except with the military gentleman, the news was received with joyous acclamations—and most unfortunately too, it was followed by an immediate rise in real property. However, I will hope for the best. I received immediately after, the congratulations of Col. McDougal on the consequent certainty of making a large sum of money in the ensuing year in my collector's office. If there should be much bustle in the collector's office, it may detain me here a week or two later than I intended.

I was at the ball of the 22d. There were forty-nine ladies although it was Lent. Some went from the British side—although there were forty-nine ladies, yet there were so many gentlemen, that it was a perfect scramble for partners. The ladies in general, looked better than at the former ball. Mr. May and myself stayed until one half past four o'clock, and heard the morning gun before we left."

In this interesting letter, so descriptive of early times, Governor Woodbridge refers to Mr. and Mrs. Hunt. Mrs. Hunt was Ann MacIntosh, daughter of Angus MacIntosh, a Scotchman, prominently connected with the Northwest Fur Company. He inherited the estate of Moy in Scotland and returned there to live. He is sometimes referred to as the Earl

of Moy. Her husband, Henry Jackson Hunt, well and favorably known, was the second elected Mayor of Detroit and died during his term of office in 1826. The James May house that the writer refers to was the Mansion House on Jefferson avenue below Wayne Street. It was partly of stone, taken from the stone chimneys left after the fire of 1805.

The place rapidly recovered from the effects of the war. The new people who came to make their homes here were largely from New England and New York. They seemed to be filled with an energy to make compensation for the losses entailed by the war. The farms had been stripped of everything, and the farmers and citizens were exceedingly poor, but a greater wealth was coming every day. Within two years after the close of the war, a newspaper was established and then came the first steamboat—the *Walk in the Water*. A change in the form of government allowed the territory to be represented by a delegate to Congress, and William Woodbridge was the first person elected to fill that office. The University of Michigan was established, a Sunday school was opened for the instruction of poor children free of charge, and it was even proposed to open free public schools.

In the battle of Lake Erie Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, on board the Lawrence, had as second in command, Lieutenant John Brooks. Brooks was described as a gay, dashing officer of extraordinary personal beauty. As the battle opened the entire effort of the British was to destroy the Lawrence, the flag ship, and it was but a short time before the deck was strewn with dead and dying sailors. As Brooks was speaking to the Commodore a cannon ball struck him and he was hurled to the opposite side of the boat, mangled in a most frightful manner. He implored Perry to kill him to relieve him from his misery, but death came to him only a short time later, and his body, with that of others, remained upon the deck. Every gun on the Lawrence, except one,

was dismounted when Perry was forced to leave the vessel as it was unmanageable. Out of one hundred men who were on the boat when the battle began, only eighteen were left unwounded. Perry at once left for the Niagara in which he continued the battle and won out completely before the day was over.

The Lawrence drifted until the battle was over and then Perry again visited her, and many of the dead sailors were committed to the deep, but the remains of Lieutenant Brooks were taken to Put-in-Bay and there buried on one of the islands.

It is said that John Brooks was born in Massachusetts and studied medicine with his father. He was a lieutenant in the marines and was stationed in Washington when the war broke out. He recruited marines for Perry's navy during the time the boats were building.

A movement was started in 1817 to bring Brooks' body to Detroit and give it a public burial. This was done on October 30th and 31st, 1817. The funeral procession formed in the cantonment and marched through the principal streets of the city and the burial took place on the glacis of Fort Shelby within the Military Reserve, now, for the first time, appropriated for that purpose. The exact place of burial cannot now be determined, but it was near the intersection of Fort and Griswold streets.

Reverend Sylvester Larned, the "Silver Tongued Orator," a brother of General Charles Larned, performed the burial services.

Captain Henry Whiting, then of the Fifth Infantry, wrote the following poem for the occasion:

Too long on lonely isle neglected,
Marked by no stone, thy dust has slept,
By humble turf alone protected,
O'er which rude Time each year has swept.

Ere many summers there has revelled,
Decking thy grave with wild flowers fair,
The tumid earth, depressed and levelled,
Had left no index vestige there.

Still had the wave, around that dashes—
Scene of thy fate—the story told,
And 'gainst the isle that held thy ashes,
In seeming fondness ceaseless roll'd.

But now with kindred heroes lying,
Thou shalt repose on martial ground,
Thy country's banners o'er thee flying
Her castles and her camps around.

And friendship there shall leave its token,
And beauty there in tears may melt,
For still the charm may rest unbroken,
So many tender hearts have felt.

Then rest, lamented youth, in honor,
Erie shall still preserve thy name;
For those who fell 'neath Perry's banner,
Must still survive in Perry's fame.

In 1819 a bank was organized and the next year a Protestant church was dedicated, though the Catholics had had church edifices in the village for the previous 118 years.

The exportations from Detroit had previously consisted of furs and maple sugar, but to these was now added the exportation of whitefish, and a great industry soon sprang up in this line.

The city was incorporated in 1815, and owned all of the lands within its limits, and ten thousand acres of adjacent territory. These lands were sold and a court house or capitol was erected from the proceeds. This building was subsequently occupied by the Capitol Union School and burned a few years since.

It would be impossible to tell who were the foremost merchants in the place, but the names of a few might be given. There were Mack & Conant, composed of Stephen Mack and Shubael Conant, John L. Whiting, DeGarmo Jones, Abraham Edwards; T. and F. Palmer, composed of Thomas Palmer, the father of Senator T. W. Palmer, and his brother, Friend Palmer; Henry Jackson Hunt and John R. Williams, Detroit's first elected Mayor; Thomas Emerson, an eccentric Vermonter, came here at a very early day and formed a partnership with Stephen Mack. The partnership existed until August, 1817, when Emerson returned to Vermont, and a new partnership was formed by Mack and Conant, which lasted many years. Emerson had faith in Detroit, and loaned money to Detroit merchants, and subsequently his son, Curtis, came to the state to reside.

President James Monroe visited Detroit in 1817, and his stay here was a round of merriment for the entire community. Everyone was welcomed by the president, and all tried to do him honors for the five days of his visit. A ride on the river and lake—a ball every evening in his honor—and the illumination of the city at night by bonfires and candles in all the windows of the stores and dwellings; these were only a part of the honors shown to him. He was received with a public address of welcome, and made a public response. The Military department took advantage of his presence to have him present to General Alexander Macomb a sword that had been voted to him by the State of New York, and a Military

review of the soldiers of the garrison was held on the esplanade.

In 1823 by another change in the laws of the territory, the judiciary and legislative bodies were separated, and Judges Woodward and Griffin, who had held their positions since 1805, were legislated out of office.

For some years prior to 1823, the newspaper of Detroit had been published by Sheldon and Reed. The paper had begun to publish articles reflecting on these two judges, and as the judges paid no attention to the remarks, and as the people seemed to like them, the paper continued to publish them, increasing the bitterness as each new article appeared. It is probable that no other paper ever continued to print such scandalous articles reflecting on the judiciary as appeared in the Detroit Gazette. Not only did the editors devote themselves to the writing of these articles, but they published the letters of correspondents, as bitter as their editorials. The Judges were called thieves, gamblers, blacklegs, bribetakers, and all other names that could be invented. Their private characters were assailed and they were driven almost to distraction. They were ridiculed and abused. They were not allowed the use of the columns of the paper to insert a reply, and their letters in defense were either returned to them unpublished, or thrown in the fire. Most of the articles referred only to Judge Woodward, as he was the leading spirit in the court, and Griffin was looked upon as his tool.

One of the letters to Judge Woodward ends like this: "The portals of your narrow, selfish soul are as firmly barred against every generous or noble sentiment as the dark cave of Cerberus. You are literally without a friend. So disgusting is your character in every point of view, that it is really a matter of curious speculation how or by what strange fatality such a man should have been palmed off upon this territory."

On another and later occasion, a correspondent puts this question to the editor: "A very singular question has arisen under the law of this territory exempting property taken on execution. This law exempts the tools necessary for the trade or profession of the party. Suppose now, that an execution was issued against the goods and chattels of his honor, Judge Woodward, would, or would not his other honor, Judge Griffin, be exempt from seizure under this execution?"

After due deliberation and seeking legal advice on the subject, the editor replied: "A learned counsellor has given it as his professional opinion on this subject, that Judge Griffin must be taken, because the law will not exempt tools used for the purposes of fraud."

We must remember that these caustic articles were not written concerning men in the ordinary walks of life, but that the victims of this tirade were the judges of the Supreme Court of the territory, the highest court of Michigan.

Among the lawyers of this period were Solomon Sibley, Alexander D. Frazer, Charles Larned, James Duane Doty, William Woodbridge and George McDougall. In 1822 Samuel B. Beach and James L. Cole and his brother Harry S. Cole, were admitted to practice law. The Cole brothers came from Canandaigua, N. Y. Detroit was considered as a great health resort at this time, and James, who was ill with an incurable disease, came hoping to recover his health, but he could not, and returned to his New York home to die, Feb. 8, 1828. He was only 24 years of age at the time of his death, but the brilliant mind which he possessed left its deep impression on the community, and particularly on the bar of Detroit. He was something of a poet, and numerous verses written by him appeared in the Detroit paper at the time. One of his poems which originally appeared in New York Statesman, and was written by this young man when

he knew that his life could be prolonged but a few days, is particularly pathetic:

"The skylark carols on the wing,
Her path is high in air;
Yet she can safely mount and sing,
With none to harm her there.

While one who hath immortal powers,
Who breathes a nobler lay,
Must perish, ere his morning hours,
Have brightened into day."

The brother, Harry Cole, as he was commonly called, was the wit of the Detroit bar. Brilliant, engaging, fascinating in conversation, beloved of all his friends and acquaintances, he soon stood with the best in his profession. He also was called away too soon, but he left a deep impression and a name that three-quarters of a century has not effaced.

The Detroit Herald was published from 1824 to 1829. Its editor and proprietor was Henry Chipman, father of the late J. Logan Chipman. Of course, the wordy war between the two newspapers was always sharp and bitter, for the editors of both were able men and their pens were usually dipped in wormwood and gall.

The Gazette was burned in 1830, and from its ashes sprang the Free Press in 1831. This paper was owned by Joseph Campau, and his nephew, Gen. John R. Williams, and was first printed from type brought to Detroit from Pontiac, and which had been used at that place to print the Oakland Chronicle. The first editor of the Free Press was Sheldon McKnight. There were two other papers in the city at that time, called the Detroit Journal and the Courier.

In 1831 Cass was appointed Secretary of War and the management of the territorial affair fell upon the shoulders of Stevens Thompson Mason, who was then only twenty years of age, as Acting Governor. There was a great stir

in the little city when it was understood that Mason would retain his position as acting Governor, notwithstanding his youth, and public meetings were held, the constituted authorities were denounced for the outrage, and petitions for Mason's removal were circulated and signed and forwarded to Washington. The work availed nothing—for not only did Mason retain his office of Acting Governor and Secretary of the Territory during the remainder of the time that Michigan was a territory, but he conducted the duties of his office so well, that he was the first elected governor when Michigan became a State.

In 1832 Detroit was visited by the terrible scourge of Asiatic cholera.

In May of that year, information was received at Detroit that there was great danger of an uprising of Indians in the West, under the leadership of Black Hawk, and the Michigan militia were called out, organized, drilled and dispatched overland to Chicago. Some of the soldiers turned back after marching a few days into the interior, but the most of them continued their journey until they arrived at the village of Chicago, and then ascertained that the Indians were still so far to the west of them that the greatest danger to the inhabitants of that place, came from the terror inspired by stories of travelers who had seen the Indians, but had not encountered them.

While the excitement was at its height, Gen. Winfield Scott was sent with two vessels loaded with regulars from Buffalo around the lake. When these vessels reached Detroit, one of the soldiers on board the "Henry Clay" died of cholera at Detroit. The news of the death spread through the city like wildfire. The boats were not permitted to land but were forced to continue their journey. Some of the soldiers got ashore in St. Clair river and deserted, many of the others died on the trip to Chicago.

The people of Detroit were so excited that business was

suspended, and houses were deserted. The neighboring villages, Pontiac, Mt. Clemens and Ypsilanti stationed watchmen in the public roads to prevent people from Detroit passing their way. Many people died in the city, among them Father Gabriel Richard, the priest of Ste. Anne's Church. It was not until fall that the excitement died out and the people returned to their usual vocations.

Two years later, the terrible scourge again visited the place. A census of the city was taken in July showing that there were 4,937 people in the place. The people were terribly frightened and left the city in all directions. The papers published very little regarding the disease, but some evidence of their troubles appeared from time to time. There were 279 deaths from cholera in August, nearly ten a day. Governor Porter, the recently appointed territorial governor, died on the ninth of July, and he was buried the same day. The papers spoke very highly of the man, and never referred to the fact that he died of cholera, but the haste with which they interred the remains indicated their knowledge that the grim reaper had again called with his Asiatic scythe. It was in the midst of all these troubles that the brilliant wit of Detroit bar—Harry S. Cole—upon calling at the post office received a letter, which, after reading to himself, he read aloud to the gathered crowd. In spite of the sombre cloud of fear occasioned by the presence of death, that hung over them all, they joined in peals of laughter as Cole proceeded with the reading. The letter was from the eccentric Vermont capitalist, Thomas Emerson, and was devoted to Thomas Palmer, who was then a wealthy, but land poor trader of Detroit. It read as follows:

WINDSOR, Vermont, August 1, 1834.

Henry S. Cole, Esq., Attorney at Law.

MY DEAR HAL:—I am rejoiced to say to you that the Lord hath been among us here in Windsor; that the day of Pentecost is here, and that there has been an outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and that I have been snatched as a brand from the burning. I am now "laying up all my treasures in Heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal." Oh, Hal! how I wish you and our old friend, Tom Palmer, might see the error of your ways. By the by, Mr. Palmer has not paid his interest on that bond for nearly two years; now I learn that "the pestilence is stalking at noon-day" among you, and we know not how soon you may go. You and he, too, ought to prepare for death, and he ought certainly to settle that bond at once. Oh Hal! if God would only open your eyes; and Mr. Palmer, surely he will pay the interest on that bond now. I pray nightly and daily for you and Mr. Palmer; and trust he will pay the interest on this bond.

That the Lord will guard and keep you, dear Hal, and my friend Palmer, is our constant prayer; but do make him pay the interest on the bond. I will take furs, shingles, lumber, apples, fish or anything he has. God bless and preserve you both, but please do not let Mr. Palmer forget to pay the interest on the bond.

Your devoted friend,

THOMAS EMERSON.

This is the story. For its truth we rely upon the word of George C. Bates, another old-time prominent lawyer and wit.

And now through its varying phases of light and shade, we have followed the story of our frontier city for a century and a third. The details of the history of such a period could not be written in a score of volumes, while at present that work is scattered through a hundred publications. Every year of that time contains a romance, interesting, and as yet undeveloped and almost unknown.

28300

Ontario
N.L. B.
(Burton

"The Paul Revere of the West"

Address of

Mr. Joseph F. Tuttle, Jr.

of Colorado.

Amusements in Detroit in Colonial Days

Paper of

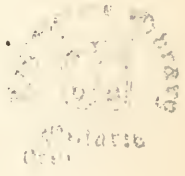
Mr. Clarence M. Burton

of Detroit.

Patriotism

Address by

Rev. Samuel S. Marquis, D. D.



Delivered at the Annual Dinner of the
Society of Colonial Wars

May Seventh, Nineteen Hundred Nine

at the Detroit Club
Detroit, Mich.

Speaker-Hines Press
Detroit

ADDRESS OF TOASTMASTER

TOASTMASTER PENDLETON: Members of the Colonial Wars in the State of Michigan. This society is no exception to the rule, that behind every successful organization there stands the inspiration of a personality. To no one does this society owe so much for its existence and its continued prosperity as to Theodore Horatio Eaton. (Applause.) We sympathize with him tonight in the bereavement that has made his presence impossible. Indeed we have, each of us, lost a friend in the death of Dr. Clark. Few men had the clairvoyant insight to see that which is best in every other man. But few men gave so generously of a high and noble friendship. His life passed quietly, serenely among us, like the flowing of an even river glinted by the sunlight, a blessing to mankind, reflecting the image of heaven.

There is another name that will always be associated with that of Dr. Clark when we meet around this table, for this place is gathering, not only associations of festivity and social life, but also sacred associations. We shall never meet here without recalling the magnificent physique and the cultured mind of Alfred Russell, as he stood here, when the thunderbolt was hurled from the hand of Jove and he fell

"As falls on Mount Olympus, a thunder-stricken oak,
Far o'er the crashing forest, its giant arms lie spread,
And the pale waters muttering low, gaze on the stricken head."

It is with a sense of relief and with joy that tonight we turn our faces toward the West. Indeed, until within a few years ago, our gaze was so steadily fixed upon the East that our necks were

becoming awry, and it was almost with a sense of pain that we brought ourselves to turn our faces toward the hills whence we realize that our help has come. For we are beginning to appreciate that as the spirit of the colonies in the early days aroused the lethargy of the conservative governments of Europe, so now the spirit of the western land is arousing the conservatism of our own eastern country. Even here in Detroit, the water that flows by our doors comes from the snow-capped hills of the Rockies. Through deep subterranean channels passes along that tremendous flood of water that supplies the tideless and unsalted seas that are always full to the brim but never overflow. Perhaps the associations of some of us with this mountainous region, from which our honored guest has come tonight, are only connected with commercial matters, possibly with stockholders' meetings: first a mine, then a miner, and then a minus. (Laughter.) But, unless history shall fail to repeat itself, the Citadel of Liberty and Freedom in this country will be where the mountain air keeps the blood red and where Heaven is nearest to earth. In the old patriarchal days, it was rather a hazardous thing for a man to come into the city of the plains. We trust that our honored guest tonight will escape the fire and the brimstone, and we would suggest that on his return, he take a Pullman, with his seat looking forward, lest he may, perchance, be overtaken by the unfortunate fate that fell to the retrospective Mrs. Lot. (Laughter.)

It is with peculiar pleasure we have as our honored guest tonight, a man who is well known among the patriotic societies in this country; and we are to be addressed this evening upon the subject, "The Paul Revere of the West." I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Joseph F. Tuttle, Jr. of Colorado. (Applause.)

"THE PAUL REVERE OF THE WEST"

Address of
Mr. Joseph F. Tuttle, Jr.
of Colorado.

Mr. Tuttle: Mr. Toastmaster and Members of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Michigan. You will permit me, gentlemen, to express my most profound sense of the honor you have conferred, in asking me to be present with you this evening. I greatly appreciate it; as I did the kind words of Mr. Eaton, Mr. Fyfe and Mr. Bates at the Buffalo Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution last April. And I much appreciate the many attentions and courtesies you have extended to him who is literally a stranger within the gates of your city; indeed, it seems if one more were extended, it would be a sort of last straw, or perhaps, the last feather old Father Peter Cartwright alluded to in one of his great revival services. As we all know, he was a powerful exhorter, and would occasionally get the power. He had in one of his congregations a good sister, so-called, in the bond of christian courtesy, who was an equally famous exhortress, and she would occasionally get the power. When they got the power together in the same service, Bedlam was just let loose. One night as they were in a neck and neck race for the rhetorical honors of the evening, the good sister closed an unusually fervent appeal, with a look of triumph at her rival in the pulpit, by shouting out "Oh, if I had just one more feather in the wings of my faith, I would fly away tonight and be at rest with

my Lord." And old Father Cartwright shouted out, from the pulpit, at the top of his voice, "Stick in that other feather, Lord, and let her go." (Laughter.)

Emerson has this very striking remark, gentlemen, that the best history, that true history is biography; that men are but the pages of history, and in that sense, I dearly love the study of our American history. In dwelling so much upon these historical and biographical subjects, I am sometimes afraid that the same fate may overtake me which Mr. Lincoln said overtook a certain lawyer friend of his in Illinois. They had been very stubbornly contesting a certain case in the law courts of the 8th District, and when the time came for submitting the arguments to the jury, Mr. Lincoln arose and said, "Gentlemen of the Jury, for reasons which are deplorable, as they are surprising, every time my friend on the opposite side of this case opens his mouth to talk, all his mental operations cease at once. And Gentlemen," said he, "the only thing with which my friend's lamentable condition can be compared, is a little steamboat that used to ply in the early 30s on the Sangamon River, when I was performing my part as a common keel flatboat man on that river. This little boat used to wheeze and snort up and down the river. It had a five-foot boiler, and a seven foot whistle, and every time it whistled, it stopped." (Laughter.) Now, there will be much whistling and blowing here tonight, but we will endeavor to keep moving.

This last winter, you will indulge me to say, I crossed over every pass of the Rocky Mountains, from the beautiful Glorietta Pass on the south in New Mexico, to the famous historic South Pass on the north, in Wyoming, crossing the mountains some fifteen or sixteen times; and so I have come to you with all the fervor of spirit, with all the imagination, with all the color that I could possibly absorb for this little story you shall hear tonight. During that time, I often traversed the old Santa Fe trail, and the old Utah and California trails on the

Western Slope, until a few days ago, I stood on the old Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho;—Fort Hall, the most important of all the Hudson Bay Company's outposts, and the place where that Company, with its muskrat skins, and beaver skins, made its last stand in its great fight with the United States for the supremacy of the country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. As I say, I stood there, where four great historic trails merge into one. You can see them on this map. First there was the great historic trail of Capt. Hunt of the John Jacob Astor expedition of 1810; second the great Capt. Bonneville trail of 1831; third, the great Oregon Trail of 1840, and then, fourth, the John C. Fremont exploring expedition of 1843. They are all marked upon this map issued by the Interior Department. I followed them for 300 miles along the Snake River, and up the beautiful Boise Valley, ever hearing the music of the union of the old trails, ever touching elbows and keeping step with those great empire-builders of the West, till at last, the old trails disappeared in the mists of the Blue mountains in Oregon. I had then traversed over a large part of that great historic trail, the greatest of all trails of the Northwest, over which the Paul Revere of the West came spurring out of the north one day in the autumn of 1842, with a letter in his hand that must be delivered post-haste to Garcia.

Virgil sang of Arms and the Man. I tonight, of the Man only. And now, let him this evening only be known as the Man. He will make good every royal attribute of a man. In 1836, this Man had been sent out by a certain religious society in Boston, under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions, to the far northwest as a missionary. On the 3rd day of October, 1842, he was sitting, a solitary American guest at the annual feast of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, now in the State of Washington. As the festivities were in progress that day a courier suddenly dashed up to the door, from Fort Colville, 300 miles away, with

this announcement, that an English colony of 140 persons was then on its way up the Columbia River to found a settlement upon the Columbia, and so hold all that country of the Northwest for England; as you know, all that country was held in a joint title of occupancy between the years 1818 and 1846 by England and the United States, it being a tacit understanding between the two nations that emigration would eventually settle the question. In the moment following that announcement, a young English priest jumped to his feet, and excitedly shouted, "Hurrah! We have now got the country, America is too late." But then you should have seen the sudden transformation in this humble missionary of the Cross, as with eyes snapping with righteous anger, and cheeks flushed with indignation, he pushed himself back from the table, at the first convenient unobserved moment, and in two hours' time had pulled up his foam-flecked pony before his cabin door twenty-five miles away; shouted out the English plot before he had dismounted, and his determination to at once set out on horseback, and inform Daniel Webster of the English plot. None could dissuade him, he must go. He said that the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was pending before the Senate, and that the question must be settled before Congress adjourned on the 4th of March. "Even if the American Board dismiss me, I shall do all I can to save the Northwest to the Union" were his last words, as within twenty-four hours he swung himself into the saddle and galloped down the trail for Washington and Daniel Webster, home and wife behind him, winter, four thousand miles as he was to ride, and the Rocky Mountains, before him.

With Gen. Amos Lovejoy, a nephew of the distinguished Amos Lawrence of Boston, and his Indian guides, he bounded over the trail through Fort Hall. At Fort Hall he took a southeasterly direction, and finally came to what is known as Fort Bridger, about fifty miles south of the present City of Evanston, Wyoming. Then he crossed the

The start from the Columbia. "The Man" on the right.

Uintah Mountains, and finally came to Fort Uintah in the extreme northeast corner of Utah, and then crossed over the line into that enchanted country—you will pardon me gentlemen for saying I love,—Colorado. (Applause.) Then he followed down the Grand River Valley, covered then with deep snow, until he came to the junction of the Eagle and the Grand Rivers. As I was many times this winter at that place, I wondered why the man did not proceed in an easterly direction up the Eagle instead of following the Grand River. If he had done that, and come out over Tennessee pass, and then into that beautiful plain where the City of Leadville is, he would have found the headwaters of the Arkansas River, and then, following that river down through the broad open country until it narrows in the Royal Gorge, to about twenty-five feet, would have come to Bent's Fort, which was his objective point. But he did not do this, and kept following this southeasterly direction down the Grand River until he crossed the river near where the present City of Grand Junction, in Colorado, is. He found that river running with an angry current of eighteen hundred feet wide, and full of ice cakes. He dismounted, cut a stout sapling, and then mounting the old lead animal of the pack train, ordered Gen. Lovejoy and his guides to push him into that angry current, and they did so. He was completely submerged for a few seconds, but rising to the surface, commenced the battle for life out in the middle of that river, as he pushed away the floating ice-cakes from his faithful horse as he was breasting that strong current, until finally he reached the other side, jumped upon the icy bank, and then with his stick broke a channel through the ice, through which he led his horse safely up the bank. Then he still keeps up this southeasterly direction, following up the Gunnison River to the place where Delta, Colorado, now is; and there, leaving the Gunnison, followed up the Uncompahgre River, and up the beautiful Uncompahgre valley where are now Delta, Olathe and

Montrose; and still 12 miles beyond the place where Montrose now is, to old Fort Uncompahgre. He then crossed over the great Divide, still following this southeasterly course, was lost for ten days in Hinsdale County wandering helplessly through the deep snow, unable to extricate himself; and one day was shut up in a box canon all day, and the party actually gave itself up for lost, and sat like sheeted spectres on their horses, calmly awaiting death. Suddenly the old Mexican guide noticed the peculiar twitching of one of the pack mule's ears, and thoroughly understanding the mule nature, he told this Man that the old mule had a wireless to deliver; they took that wireless, and it was this: "Take off my packs and give me my head, and if I live, I will get you out of this." And they took off the old fellow's packs, gave him his head, and then the old mule commenced to flounder through the snow. Finally he led them along the edges of rocky precipices, and through steep defiles, until at one place, the most unexpected to every one of the party, the old mule made a straight plunge down the steep mountain bank, and in a little while—and all this. Gentlemen, upon the written statement of General Lovejoy—led the party safely back to the smoking embers of their morning camp fire.

The rebellion of this Man's guide, at this critical juncture, who absolutely refused to proceed any farther, as he said that the deep snows had completely obliterated all his knowledge of the country; an extra ride for this Man over the trail back to Fort Uncompahgre for another guide, a journey of seven days to go, and eight or nine days to return, leaving General Lovejoy alone upon the mountains, to care for the animals, as best he could. General Lovejoy's sole companion during these eighteen or nineteen days of this Man's absence, was a faithful little dog, that had thrown in its fortunes with the party on the trail. And the General speaks of this little dog cuddling under the blankets at night as if in an endeavor to keep his master warm. But it is

pitiful to read, that in a few days after this, General Lovejoy was so pressed with hunger, as his friend did not return, that he was obliged to kill and eat that faithful little dog. Finally the Man returned and the party kept on in a southeasterly direction until they came to the country which was made tragic, five years later, by that terrible catastrophe which happened to John C. Fremont and his exploring expedition of 1848, where so many of his men were frozen to death; then still in a southeasterly direction, and here is the secret of it. He had heard at Fort Walla Walla, before he started, or somewhere on the trail, of the desirability of finding the headwaters of the Rio Grande del Norte River, and he finally found them in what is now Rio Grande County in Colorado. He then followed that river down through the country where are now Creede and Wagon Wheel Gap, and came out into the beautiful San Luis Valley, still following the banks of the river until he crossed into New Mexican territory, and then on to Fort Taos, and finally sixty-five miles farther south, to Santa Fe, hoping by that long detour of a thousand miles, to get in touch with some eastern outfit for safe journey across the plains, which he heard were infested with bands of hostile Indians. Disappointed in this, this Man then took the old Santa Fe trail, which commenced there at Santa Fe, and doubled back into Colorado, or rather, what is now Colorado, coming into Colorado that second time about where the City of Trinidad now is. On the 29th of December—this was in 1842—he met George Bent on the trail, one of the famous Bent brothers, who had built Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River in 1828. Bent informed him that a large party of mountaineers were to leave Bent's Fort for the Missouri River in a few days, and if he would get in touch with them, he must hurry on with his fleetest horse, and leave General Lovejoy to follow with the packs. He did so, and then this Man disappeared for seven days, as completely as if he had been swallowed up by the

earth. He was lost and alone somewhere on the mountains between the sites of the present cities of Trinidad and Pueblo. He finally emerged from his wanderings, picked up the old Santa Fe trail he had lost a few days before, and then followed the trail down the north bank of the Arkansas River until he came to Bent's Fort.

Bent's Fort, what a magic name it was in those days of the 30s and the 40s! It was the residence of Francis P. Blair for two years, the same Francis P. Blair who ran for Vice-President on the ticket with Horatio Seymour in 1868. It was the favorite rendezvous of such choice spirits of the western trails as Kit Carson, who was its official hunter for eight years; of old Parson Bill Williams, who was Fremont's scout in Hinsdale County, when Fremont lost so many men in his disastrous expedition of 1848, and Oliver P. Wiggins of Denver, now in the 89th year of his age, whom I have the great pleasure to know, and who has told me many times of those days. Much of the color you are getting tonight, comes from the lips of Oliver P. Wiggins, and not from books. One day in the Denver Post Office, where Mr. Wiggins, a few years ago, was a special policeman, without my leading up to it at all, he told me that in the winter of 1843 he heard that a man rode across the Rocky Mountains to Washington, and that that ride, in the middle of the winter, was the talk of all the mountain and plains men.

Bent's Fort was built 185 feet on the ground. Its walls were eighteen feet high, and four feet thick. I have a little picture of it here; you will perhaps enjoy seeing it later. The walls were four feet thick and looped all around for musketry. Three little cannons were planted on the bastions of Bent's Fort, and from the diary of John Fremont I get this little dash of color;—he says that "On the first day of July, 1844, we came to Bent's Fort, and as we emerged from the cottonwoods on the banks of the river, they ran up the flag on the staff of the Fort," and then these three little cannons barked out their

KIT. CARSON.

noisy welcome to Fremont and his party of 1844.

An amusing story is told by Col. Ingham that at one time in the 30s Old Wolf, the big Chief of the Comanche Indians, came to Bent's Fort with several hundred of his Indian braves, to visit his friends the Bent brothers, or in other words, to stay just as long as the Bent larder lasted. One night, the roystering spirits of the fort got Old Wolf in the fort, got him drunk, and then, not to be outdone in the courtesies which should exist between host and guests, they proceeded to put themselves on a level with their distinguished guest, and got drunk themselves. In the wild orgies of the night, some one put some blank cartridges in those three little cannons and fired them off, pointing them at the Indian tepees outside. The Indians, thoroughly frightened, scampered away, and returning at midnight, completely invested the fort and clamored loudly for the immediate release of Old Wolf. Then those fellows in the Fort realized their predicament very quickly and sobered up; and they hoisted Old Wolf up on the parapet, propped him up, as he was too far gone to be of any material assistance to himself, and then ordered him to make a speech to his assembled braves outside, in which he told them that he was "Never heaper all right, never heaper happier in all his life, and for them to go back to their tepees, and mind their own business."

I can imagine this Man galloping up to Bent's Fort that night of January 6th, 1843, almost the only night he was to sleep under a roof since he had entered what is now Colorado the preceding November. And I can further see him that night standing in one of the great compartments in the ruddy blaze of the fire-logs on the hearth, and thrilling his auditors of scouts, of soldiers, of officers and of Indians, with his story, how he is riding hard to save the northwest to the Union; how he swam the Grand River; how he was lost for ten days upon the mountains, in what is now Hinsdale County, Colorado; and the hearts of his auditors are glow-

ing with love of their country, as they hear that story, for the brave mountaineering element in history and in Colorado has always been "on the side of the right and of the Union." And then I can see them the next morning, crowding to the old wooden gates to wish this Man Godspeed upon his journey.

Bent's Fort! half way! three months in the saddle! his companion General Lovejoy and all his guides broken down and left behind from the terrible exposure of the mountains. On the morning of January 7th, 1843—for he stayed at Bent's Fort but one night—this Paul Revere of the West took the trail alone, and came flying up through the country where Las Animas, Granada and Holly, Fort Aubrey, Dodge City, Hutchinson and Great Bend now are; and then finally to Westport on the Missouri River, now a suburb of Kansas City, where he reeled off the last of the eight hundred and twenty-five miles of the old Santa Fe Trail. As he had come into the settlements, he had commenced to distribute little rude circulars of this wonderful Eldorado of the Northwest, "Good wagon road over the mountains," and in such enthusiasm passed through St. Louis, and then on to Washington, where it is said he arrived on the afternoon of March 3rd, 1843, exactly five months from that day when he had spurred down the valley from Fort Walla Walla.

When Daniel Webster said "Come in" that afternoon, in response to the knock at his office door, there walked in a man enveloped in a great Buffalo overcoat, with a great buffalo overhood attached, in which he had slept for fifty nights in the snow before his camp fire, in crossing the Rocky mountains, and his first words were: "Mr. Webster, what of the treaty?" "Why Man,"—said Daniel Webster—"the treaty, it was signed two months before you set out. It was proclaimed the law of the land while you were lost on the mountains, and besides, the Northwest was not mentioned in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty." What a staggering

"Bent's Fort, Colorado, on the Arkansas, built in 1828."

blow that was! But this Man parried it by dashing around Washington as he had done over the mountains and up the Santa Fe Trail. President John Tyler and his Secretary, Daniel Webster, became infected with this Man's enthusiasm; and to me, the one supreme psychological moment of the whole history of the Northwest was that day, when this Man, dressed in his blue duffle coat, a coat, you know, made out of a closely woven Mackinaw blanket, with fur undergarments, buckskin breeches, fur leggings and boot moccasins, and face gridironed all over with the terrible frosts of the mountains, stood before John Tyler, President, and his Secretary, Daniel Webster, in the White House, and with passionate eloquence pleaded with them to save the Northwest to the Union. Just at this very critical moment, Mr. Webster met the British Minister one day on the streets of Washington; and this Minister, no doubt, having been secretly informed by Sir George Simpson, who was then Governor of the Hudson Bay Company and was spending that winter in Washington, of his intended sending of a colony from the Red River Country in the British Possessions down the Columbia, so as to form a colony there, and hold all that country for England; this British Minister said to Mr. Webster: "Now Mr. Webster, the shortest way out of this difficulty is to let immigration settle the question." And Daniel Webster said to him: "Sir, we will let immigration settle this question." And then Daniel Webster and John Tyler took this Man aside and whispered into his frost-bitten ear: "If you will only get your immigrants there by next fall, we will hold the Northwest to the United States." And Daniel Webster that very day sat down and paid the first installment of this magnificent promise, as he wrote to the British Minister in Washington, these exact words: "England must not expect anything south of the 49th parallel," which you know is the present north line of the State of Washington.

Then, this Man disappeared from Washington, and the next that we hear of him is in Boston, where he went to visit the religious society which had sent him out as a missionary. Swimming the Grand River, and fighting for life with the floating ice-floes, was a hot bath, as compared with the chilly reception it is said he received from that society which said to him substantially: "We sent you to the Northwest to save souls, not to save territory to the United States."

No meet for a chase was ever called, which had in it such magnetic charm as that June meet on the banks of the Missouri River in 1843 at Westport. This Man was there, organizing, over-seeing, and electrifying. People were gathering from the North, East and South. One man named Zachary came clear from Texas, having received one of those rude little circulars. The last wagon was packed, and the canvas stretched over the great hoops, a proud moment for this Man as he saw two hundred wagons wheel into line, with eight hundred and seventy-five immigrants and thirteen hundred head of cattle and horses, all headed for the distant Northwest.

Proceeding in detachments about ten days to two weeks apart, so as to give an opportunity for the grasses to spring up as forage for the detachments to follow, they filed out of Westport on the old Santa Fe Trail. This they followed for seventy-five miles, until they came to a point now called Waseruka on the Santa Fe Railroad, and there the great trail forked. The southern fork was the one up which he had galloped three months before, and led directly down to Bent's Fort in Colorado; and the north fork of that trail was the trail which has been made classic in the history of the West by the pen of Francis Parkman, as the great Oregon Trail. You will recall how beautifully Eva Emery Dye has written of this western movement to the sea; she says: "Many a love was plighted on this long march from the Missouri River to the sea. Buffalo

"The Man" in the White House, before President Tyler and Daniel Webster.

hunters swept in from their raids, and scouts reported from their Indian trails; and there in that little company were future generals and governors and future United States senators, eminent lawyers, physicians and divines of the Northwest. There was McCarver, who founded Burlington, Iowa; and afterwards Sacramento, California; and then Tacoma, Washington. There in that little company was marching Peter H. Burnett, the first Governor of California; and there in that little company of Captain John C. Fremont, which had been deputized by the United States Government, as an escort, to see this train of immigrants safely across the plains of Kansas and Nebraska, was William Gilpin, the first Governor of Colorado."

All the historians agree that in the last week of June—this was in 1843—these immigrants were marching along the south fork of the North Platte River, and that on the 7th July they crossed over a distance of some 40 or 50 miles to follow the North Platte up to Fort Laramie. And as if Colorado could not keep herself out of this magic chapter of the winning of the West, John C. Fremont, with his little party, then followed down the south fork of the North Platte River, on and on, until in the words of his diary of 1843 he says: "We camped at a little place just a few yards south of where Cherry Creek empties itself into the Platte River," a place which I have been assured by Mr. Wiggins, the venerable scout I have alluded to, was a little spring which was the favorite rendezvous of John C. Fremont and Kit Carson and whose site I have often visited, and is now in the heart of the City of Denver.

Of all the difficulties which beset this Man on his homeward ride with his immigrants that summer of 1843, none could be compared to the jealousies and hatreds of the Hudson Bay Company, particularly of Captain Grant and his associates at Fort Hall. Rivers, snows, mountains, and ice floods were but gentle mosquito irritations to the troubles these

sharpers of the Hudson Bay Company gave him. One of the historians—Barrows—mentions that a curious feature of this Man's first trip over the mountains in 1836, was an old wagon, which he was determined to get through to the Pacific Coast, to demonstrate to the people of the East the feasibility of immigration over the Rocky Mountains. Though the Hudson Bay Company, at that time, were without a rival from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and were hardly less inferior to the power on the throne, yet they fairly shook in their shoes at the sight and sound of that old wagon! It was dismembered, dragged piece by piece over the old Trail, ingloriously dwindled to the dimensions of a cart, the hind wheels loaded on and carried as freight; but through the indomitable will of this Man, those wheels ever kept rolling towards the Pacific, and finally arrived there in the spring of 1837. Bitterly the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Hall now repented, so this historian says, of letting that old wagon through seven years before; for now here at the gates of Fort Hall and coming up the dusty eastern trail from Fort Laramie, were two hundred emigrant wagons; they argued with the immigrants, persuaded, and threatened them, tried to deflect them from the old Oregon trail, till it seemed as if that long ride had been in vain, and perhaps it would have been, had it not been for the assuring presence of some friendly Indians who had come to meet their old teacher and safely escort him to his home. "And so" as the historian says "these old wagons creaked and groaned, rolled and tossed till they awoke welcoming echoes in the canons of the Columbia."

There is a light over the Blue Mountains in Oregon, and flying hoofs, with the music of the Union in their beat, are striking fire upon the great Oregon Trail, to light it up for those immigrants who are following, the "Army of Occupation," which saved all the Northwest to the Union. Again, the sound of a horse's hoofs is striking upon the

ear of an anxious and solicitous wife, and as a reward for her patient waiting and watching at her lone cabin door, as a reward for her noble sacrifice of her husband to his country in that crisis of its history, Marcus Whitman is riding from out the shadow of the Blue Mountains, and is soon clasping her in his arms, three months from the Missouri River, and exactly eleven months to a day from the day when he started from Fort Walla Walla on that eastern ride. On that 3rd day of September, 1843, Marcus Whitman brought his wife the first tidings of himself since he had started away from his cabin door on the 3rd day of October, 1842.

And now, what had he done? Just in a word, gentlemen. He had unclutched the fingers of a foreign power that had stretched out its long arm over the sea, and had seized in one fell swoop, all the country lying south of the present north line of the State of Washington, clear down to the Columbia River, and then, by a shadowy title that England had set up, still farther south to the present north line of the States of California, Nevada and Utah; then eastward to take in twenty thousand square miles of the State of Wyoming; then north along the great Rocky Mountain range to the British Possessions, and then west along the 49th parallel to the sea, an area which comprises parts of the present States of Montana, of Wyoming and all of the States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho;—an area of over three hundred thousand square miles; six times as large as your State of Michigan; two and a half times as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined; twice as large as our present colonial possessions, huge as they are, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines; or to throw it in another form, an area equal to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, and one-half of Indiana combined. And of that magnificent achievement, Daniel Webster wrote to a friend in his later years:

"Had it not been for Dr. Marcus Whitman and his fellow missionaries, it is safe to say that all of the great Oregon country would now be owned by England and by the Hudson Bay Company." For that splendid service to his country, Marcus Whitman and his faithful wife, Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, are sleeping tonight in martyrs' graves in that far country, where Bryant says, "Rolls the Mighty Oregon," horribly butchered and mutilated after his return from that ride by members of his own mission station, members of his own Sunday school, who were fearful lest the great tide of immigration he had evoked from the east, should drive them from their hunting grounds.

And now, in these closing words let me say, gentlemen, that as we are sitting here tonight beneath the protecting folds of this dear old Flag, this poem without words, this song without music, this benediction ever upon us without the laying on of hands, all of the stars are shining brightly tonight in its blue field, but six of them, to me, with peculiarly sparkling lustre;—Oregon the 33rd, Colorado the 38th, that State that had put those fiery frost scars on the face of Marcus Whitman as her special brand-royal of a hero and a patriot; Montana the 41st, Washington the 42nd, Idaho the 43rd, Wyoming the 44th, and soon it is thought to be the star of a new State, to be formed out of the fifty thousand extra square miles of the old Oregon country in the western part of Montana, in the north corner of Idaho, and in the eastern part of Washington, with Spokane as its capital, and to be called by the magic name of Lincoln;—each of those five stars of the Northwest, set in the firmament home of the old Flag by this Paul Revere of the West who rode across the Rocky Mountains in dead of winter, with a letter in his hand superscribed "Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, Washington, District of Columbia," and down in the corner these magic words—Oh! I love to think of them even in

fancy—"Via Colorado!" (Long continued applause.)

MR. BATES: I want to say a word right here I went to the Denver Congress two years ago, and heard this magnificent story of the conquest of the Northwest to the Union delivered by our most distinguished guest, whom we asked to come here for the benefit of this Society, and it gives me great pleasure to know and hear him tonight; and I move that the thanks of this Society be tendered to our very distinguished friend, by rising.

TOASTMASTER: You have heard the motion. All in favor please express it by rising.

MR. TUTTLE: I thank you very much, gentlemen.

TOASTMASTER: We shall never forget Marcus Whitman, and I am sure, we will never forget our honored guest, Mr. Tuttle. (Applause.) I can only faintly express our gratitude that he can be with us tonight.

It was Voltaire who said "Mankind had lost their title deeds, Montesquieu recovered and restored them." You will not think that mention of title deeds is going to bring "the shop" into the house, because those of us, and that means all of us, who know him so well, are aware of the telescopic vision of Mr. Burton, of the breadth of his mind, and that for him Arpents and French Concession have expanded into international boundaries, and that the name of the old French settlers, Batiste Chauvin, Louis St. Aubin and the rest, have been transfigured into voyageurs from sunny France, and that with his historical instinct and enthusiasm, it has been impossible for him to become satisfied until his secretaries were busily at work in Montreal and Paris; and until he had garnered the most valuable collection of original documents in existence anywhere, upon the early French settlements, and recovered and restored them safe from the dust of ages and from the tooth of time.

It is stated that when Alexander the Great stood upon the tomb of Achilles, he said "How fortunate was Achilles in having such a herald as Homer to proclaim his exploits." How fortunate is Detroit, in having such a herald as Burton to transcribe and proclaim her exploits! (Applause.)

Mr. Burton will speak to us tonight upon "Amusements in Detroit in Colonial Days." (Applause.)

MR. BURTON: I have been exceedingly interested in the talk of Mr. Tuttle; and it recalls to my mind the stories that my father and mother told me years ago of their trip over this Santa Fe Trail where, a few months preceding my birth, they went from the State of Michigan to the State of California up in the mountains, where I was born. I am sure that this has been to me, probably, more interesting than it has to most of you for recalling these old stories. The story that I am to tell you tonight is so purely local that it cannot excite in you any of that enthusiasm that has followed the recital of Mr. Tuttle, but it may give you a little idea of how, not our ancestors but our predecessors, lived in this little village of ours before it came to be the great city that it is now. Of course, I am compelled to rely upon notes. I could not commit such a matter as this to memory, and you will excuse me in that respect. (Applause.)

AMUSEMENTS IN DETROIT IN COLONIAL DAYS

Paper of
Mr. Clarence M. Burton
of Detroit.

On the 24th day of July in the year 1701, there landed on the shore of the Detroit River, a company of soldiers and artisans, under the command of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. This Company consisted of fifty soldiers and fifty civilians comprising all the trades useful for a frontier settlement. Cadillac, the commandant, had been commissioned by the French Government to locate a fort and village on the Detroit River at such a point as would command the water-way from Erie in the Great Lakes beyond, and he had chosen this as the spot for such a fort. From his starting point at Montreal, he had been accompanied by a guard of one hundred Algonquin Indians, and as the forces neared the final stopping place, the number of Indians increased until a small army of them drew their light canoes upon the sandy beach, and gave their assistance to the founding of a great city.

On the progress up the Ottawa River from Montreal to Lake Nipissing, and thence across that lake to its outlet, French River, and down that river and through the Georgian Bay to the final destination. Troubles and disagreements arose among the soldiers and colonists, and some of them were on the point of deserting or returning to their homes. It was rumored among them that Cadillac would never pay them for their services; that he would not permit

them to return to Montreal, or bring their families to Detroit. So a hundred rumors of the hardships that must sooner or later overtake them, were passed around the camp to discourage their further progress or to prompt them to turn back before their work was accomplished.

Before anything was done on the shores of the Detroit River, Cadillac called all of his people together, immediately upon their landing, and talked to them about these rumors of disaffection. He had been told that the leader and originator of these troubles was the Jesuit priest, Vaillant, who had been permitted, contrary to the wishes of Cadillac, to go with him from Montreal. He knew that this priest had been disappointed in not having the exclusive charge of the religious affairs of the company, for he had been allowed to come to Detroit only for the purpose of founding a mission among the Indians, while a Recollet priest, Nicolas Constantin de l'Halle, was selected as almoner to the settlement.

When Cadillac made known to his people his knowledge of their discontent, and asked them for the causes of it, Vaillant, who was present, found that his schemes had been discovered, and he immediately started for the woods to escape the wrath of the commandant and the people. He proceeded at once to Mackinac and never afterwards appeared at Detroit.

No Jesuit priest ever officiated at the place until within very recent times.

The foundation for the Church of Ste. Anne was begun on the day of the first landing, and we may well believe that the chanting of church services was started at once, and has been continued without interruption since, for even during the trying times of 1763, when the place was besieged by Pontiac, religious services were punctually attended to.

The early French and Canadian colonists were mostly uneducated farmers, voyageurs and coureurs de bois, who sought the great west because it gave them opportunities for employment with some hope

of bettering their condition in life. The commandant was obliged to make a report of the transactions of the place sufficient to keep his superiors informed as to the situation of affairs, but farther than these official reports, we have very little information regarding the daily life of the people. They wrote no letters to friends or relatives to tell them about the new country they had chosen for their homes. An occasional quarrel between parties reached the court at Quebec, but very little information can be derived from that source. The church records are very full and complete, but they are of such a nature that they give little information of the daily life of the community. The first Church of Ste. Anne that had been erected in 1701 was destroyed by fire in 1703, and with it the church record for the two years was consumed. This record contained the entry of the birth of a child to the commandant and his wife, the first white child born in Detroit, or probably west of Montreal. There can be little doubt that the birth of this child was the occasion of great and prolonged hilarity on the part of the entire community, for not only was it the first birth, but it was the birth of a child to the first and most important family in the settlement. From this time forward there are entries of marriages, births and deaths, each an occasion for mirth or sorrow, and the French people then, as now, permitted no occasion for mirth to escape them unnoticed.

The new-comers brought guns and gun flints, powder and ball for hunting.

In modern times, by custom brought down from the far away pioneer life, the one most skillful in using his gun at the annual tournaments is awarded a prize for his ability. That this custom prevailed as far back as the beginning of our history, there can be little doubt, and at such trials of skill we may well assume that they engaged in all sorts of athletic sports, as running, wrestling, rowing, bowling and arrow shooting. The flint arrow heads that we sometimes, even now, find in the fields around the

city, were quite difficult to make, and we cannot believe that the Indians used them on ordinary occasions. These arrows were reserved for special occasions, such as shooting to show their skill, where the arrow could be found and returned to the sender. A bird on the wing could be killed or wounded with such an arrow, but there would be more difficulty in killing, or even seriously wounding an animal of any considerable size.

Twice during the first eleven years of Detroit's history, the place was beseiged by the Indians, once in 1705, and again in 1712, and on both occasions the savages sought to destroy the village by shooting arrows carrying balls of fire on the unprotected roofs of the houses. Both efforts failed because of the prompt action of the citizens and garrison in extinguishing the flames and in unroofing the houses. At the outset, the Indians did not have guns or powder. When they obtained guns, as they did within a few years, they were entirely dependent upon the French for powder and they could not conduct a war of any considerable length without the assistance of the French or Canadians. They became skillful marksmen, both with gun and bow, but no more skillful than the French.

The white and red natives mixed together as one people. They sometimes intermarried, but aside from this, the early white men who were trappers, hunters and traders, in the woods, lived with the savages on terms of perfect equality and their traits and habits of life became similar. The athletic sports were common to all natives, but there were some sports more peculiarly Indian in their character, such as rowing, swimming, and arrow shooting. Then there was lacrosse, a game at first peculiarly Indian, but which was soon adopted by the white men. They had dances of various forms suited to various occasions, such as war dances, medicine dances and dances at funerals. In their camps in the woods, to pass away the long evenings, the men had stag dances, such as, in more modern times, were

indulged in by the woodsmen in the lumber camps. The Canadian boatmen were noted for their boat songs, and the long pulls through the placid waters of Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay were enlivened by the chorus of voices that kept time to the strokes of their oars and paddles.

"Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
Our voices keep tune, and our ears keep time,
Soon as the woods on the shore look dim,
We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn,
Row, brothers, row! the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near, and the daylight's past!"
—*Moore's Canadian Boat Song.*

One hundred voices, rising and falling in unison, as they passed through the various rivers and lakes from Montreal to Detroit, gave notice to the savages that the march of civilization had begun. This crude music was a dreadful warning to them, if they had but understood it, that the ownership of the woods and streams, and control of the wilderness was about to pass into other hands, but they did not comprehend. They welcomed the new-comers to a home, a settlement, a new colony in the west.

The soldiers who came with Cadillac were Frenchmen who had entered the army in France and were therefore familiar with the soldiers' life in the old country. This life was not one of seclusion, or of toil only, but was interspersed with all the hilarity and joy making that could be obtained in such a situation and in such a life. They undoubtedly played all the games that were common in the day, such as quoits, bowling in the narrow streets of the village, card playing and other similar indoor amusements in inclement weather.

The houses of the first comers were very small and very crude. They were built of small logs set on end and driven into the ground far enough to make them stand firmly upright, and extending above the ground only six or seven feet, high enough to stand in. They were covered with skins, or with split rails, and then with grass or straw. The up-

rights were placed as closely together as possible and the interstices filled with clay or mud. They were seldom more than from twelve to eighteen feet in width and of about the same depth. There were no floors, except the earth beaten hard by many footsteps. No glass windows were in the place. The window openings were covered with the skin of some animal. This was translucent on most occasions, but the skin would thicken with age and exposure, and it was frequently necessary to scrape thinner or stretch it more in order to admit any light. The only large buildings in the place were the warehouse and church, and here all of the assemblies were held for entertainments. During the year 1701 there were no white women in the place, but the next year came Madam Cadillac, and with her came Madam Tonty, wife of Captain Alphonse de Tonty, and their children, and servants. From this time on, the wives of the former residents began to arrive, so that a full and complete community was soon here. There were many Indians, for Cadillac says that he fed six thousand mouths during the winter of 1701-2 and there were men, women, boys, girls, servants, and all that goes to make up a colony. They all attended church on Sunday and holy days, and as there were soon two or three hundred people, it will be seen that it was necessary to have a large building for church purposes.

The warehouse, also, was very large, for it contained not only all the food, utensils, clothing and other things brought up annually for the citizens and the savages, but also all the peltries and things that were collected to be sent down to Montreal in exchange. It was likely in this building that their indoor dances were held. They planted a May pole each year before the door of the commandant, and that occasion was also accompanied with dancing, but the kind of music they had is not mentioned.

The soldiers did not act as soldiers in garrison, but as citizens. They were each allowed a small tract of land outside the village enclosure which they

cultivated as gardens. Some of these patches along the east line of Randolph street can be readily traced, though more than two hundred years have passed since their original survey. Hunting and trapping, considered as amusements or pastimes with us, were the means of gaining a living in the time of the original colonists, so that they can scarcely be claimed in this list. Probably every man and boy in the settlement had his old flint lock blunderbuss, capable of making a telling effect at short distance. The owner was skilled in its use and seldom missed his mark. One of the chief employments in the village was the gunsmith, or armorer. Every youth, as well as every man, was skilled in the making of traps for catching wild animals of all kinds whose fur was good. Care was taken not to catch or kill out of season, for the woods were depleted rapidly enough without killing when the fur was worthless. There were no buffalo (or bison) in the immediate neighborhood of Detroit, but when the whites first settled here there was an abundance of deer, elk, bear, fox and smaller animals.

Everyone fished when fish were in season, which was most of the year. The fish were eaten fresh and none were salted down or exported. The rivers and lakes were so full of fish that none could be sold, either here or at Montreal or Quebec, and it was useless to undertake to export or to preserve them. The fishing was by line and spear only. The Indians made spearheads of flint, shaped something like the arrow head, but larger and much heavier. Even as late as the coming of the Americans in 1796, it was reported that the French people had no seines, though there was abundance of use for them. After Cadillac left Detroit in 1711, an inventory was taken of the personal property owned by him, and in this list was an item for "1050 large fishing hooks, barbed," thus showing the general use of this instrument in the colony.

The great number of flint arrowheads and spears found in and around the village indicate the methods

used by the savages in killing game and fish before the distribution of firearms and gun-powder among them. A large stock of gun flints and a supply of English muskets and French muskets was carried by the commandant in his storehouse.

A great quantity of goods was sent up to Detroit annually for sale or distribution among the Indians, and in this supply are to be found some things evidently intended for their amusement. In one place we find "one hundred small trumpets," possibly to permit the youthful Indian to blow on and make himself heard, as do the white youths of today. These trumpets may also have been used in sleighing or coasting parties on the ice and snow, or perhaps as signals in the woods, though the Indian whoop is generally supposed to have been sufficient for the latter purpose. As there was a drum in the settlement, these trumpets may have been used in connection with it to raise a crowd.

The invoice included thirty-six pounds of medium-size black glass beads, seventy-six and three-fourths pounds of large black beads, eight and three-fourths pounds of large green beads, streaked, thirty-three pounds of beads in strings of all colors. Evidently most of these articles were intended for sale to the Indians as ornaments, for a piece of gay-colored cloth, with a string of colored beads, would set off the dusky maiden to advantage, and make her the belle of the camp. The beads were the only form of glass present in these early times. There were no glass windows or mirrors for many years. An item of thirteen dozen small tin mirrors indicates an article used by both whites and Indians in making their toilets and in shaving, if the men of that day shaved at all. In the entire list there is nothing found to correspond with the modern razor, but in the list of property belonging to the Delisle family is included "one fine razor." Knives they had, shoemakers' knives, Flemish knives, woodcutters' knives, Siamese knives, large carving knives and other knives in abundance, but mention is made of only one

razor. Some of the presents to the Indians show their propensity for display, such as "a fine shirt with ruffles" and a "red coat ornamented with imitation gold lace." Smoking was a pastime enjoyed by both French and Indians. Tobacco was either raised here or brought here by the Indians from the warmer territory to the south of Lake Erie. A kind of Indian tobacco was made from the bark of the willow tree. Quantities of tobacco were used and there were many pipes or calumets in the storehouse. Some of them were common, every-day affairs and some were elaborate and expensive. Some were simply called "calumets" while others were put down as "large calumets of red stone, with their stems and plumes and stands to hold them." The large ones might have been used at the great council fires where the Indian treaties were discussed and arrived at.

Boats for use on the rivers and lakes could not be considered as instruments for amusement as at the present day, but as objects of necessity, for the only road in summer for all to travel was the water way, and the only vehicle, the canoe. These boats were made of the bark of trees, birch bark being preferable, or, for the larger boats, trunks of trees dug out or burned by slow fire. Great care had to be taken in all cases to see the work was perfect, for a boat which leaked was a great annoyance.

In later years one of the great pastimes in the winter was racing on the ice, but not at this early time. The Indians had no horses in this part of the country. If there were any wild horses they were far to the south and west, and were at that time unknown in the vicinity of Detroit.

Cadillac brought three horses to Detroit, but two of them died shortly after their arrival, and the only horse in the settlement in 1711 was the third animal and was called "Colon." All of the work necessary to be done by animals was performed by this horse and four oxen, also owned by Cadillac, and a few other oxen owned by some of the colonists.

In the immediate neighborhood of the village were several quite steep hills that might be utilized in the winter for coasting purposes, and perhaps Colon was employed to draw the coasters' sleds on the river ice, or up these hills or on the commons where the underbrush was cleared. There were no roads and very few smooth places fit for sleigh riding. This horse was occasionally used for horseback riding, as there were two pairs of old rowels mentioned, useless for any other purpose than to urge on this solitary steed. There were several carts or wagons, but all hand-made and heavily built for carrying merchandise, not people. There were some other domestic animals, for notice is made that the hogs and cattle were placed on Ile Ste. Magdelaine, the original French name for Belle Isle, for safe keeping. The island, however, took the name of Ile au Cochons (Hog Island) during Cadillac's time.

Perhaps the use of brandy, or eau-de-vie, as it was then called, could not be considered as an amusement, but it was an indulgence granted to the Canadians and French with only such restraints as they voluntarily threw around it. Its use was forbidden to the Indians. That is, efforts were continually being made by the priests and the government to prohibit the use by the savages, and Cadillac was inclined to carry out this restraint, but he said at the time, that the use of a small quantity of brandy with every meal of fish was a necessity for the white man, and so the stuff was included in the soldiers' rations. Cadillac considered himself above the common run of his colonists, and did not associate with them as with equals. He made grants to members of his own family of large tracts of land on the Detroit River, thousands of acres in extent, supposing that they would ultimately become seigneurs, or landed proprietors, living off the rents paid by their tenants for these lands. For himself, he desired the income of the village proper and the adjacent lands, with the title of Baron or Marquis of Detroit. He was disappointed in not obtaining

this concession. He imposed a tax or annual rental, payable to himself, on every piece of land he granted to the settlers. There were a few of his companions with whom he was on familiar terms, as with the priests, Captain Tonty and the Lieutenants, Chacornac and Dugue. Their amusements were somewhat different from those indulged in by the "common herd" and we find in Cadillac's home "eighteen swords with handles," probably used for fencing. He was well educated and familiar with the dramatic writings of his country, but it cannot be determined that any theatre or work of that character was undertaken at Detroit, though there are several references in his letters to the drama. He proposed to found a school, or college, at Detroit, to instruct his colonists and the Indians there assembled. He proposed to establish a hospital to be placed under the charge of the Hospitallers, a religious order of nuns, and he further asked permission to form the Indians in military companies and regiments, officered partly by themselves and in part by French soldiers. All of these proposals, so far in advance of his time, were frowned upon by the French government, and his requests were denied. There was one system adopted by him that outlasted his command and which continued in force some years. When he first came to Detroit, he supposed the entire trade of the place belonged to him, but the Company of the Colony of Canada soon laid claim to it, and a lawsuit followed, which continued for some time, and finally resulted in his favor. After this final determination, he annually sold to all of his people who desired, the right to sell goods to the Indians. These goods all came at one time in the fall of the year, and upon their arrival nearly every house in the village was filled with the new goods placed on exhibition and sale, to induce the Indians to exchange their furs for trinkets and cloths. This was a sort of annual fair that lasted three or four days at a time. At such times there collected at the place all the Indians in the

neighborhood, and there were thousands of them, and a general good time was held as long as the fair lasted. The fair was abandoned in the time of the command of Tonty, who died in office in Detroit in 1727, for he sold the right of trading to some Montreal merchants and they would not permit local dealers to share in the trade. A great noise was made about the discontinuance of the fair and it may have been revived in later years.

In 1710, Cadillac was appointed governor of Lousiana, but did not leave Detroit for his new post until the following year. His immediate successor was Charles Regnault, Sieur Dubuisson, but he only retained the position a few months pending the arrival of De la Forest.

During the first years of the settlement, the citizens were afraid of the Indians. Indeed, during the entire time of French, English and American occupation as late as 1832, when the Black Hawk War took place, the people living in the village were afraid of the uprising of the natives. The early French, however, became so accustomed to them, and to their ways of living, and so intimate with their home life, that they had considerable confidence in them. A very quiet and uneventful life they led for many years, though the troubles with the Indians in the early times, and the quarrels between the commandants and their Montreal creditors disturbed business to such an extent, that many of the people moved back to the eastern settlements, and the village decreased in size.

The grants of farm lands that had been made by Cadillac in 1707 and 1708 were annulled by the government, and the titles all reverted to the King in 1716. This discouraged the farmers, for they could not make improvements and build houses upon insecure titles, but in later years, new grants were made to actual settlers. Then began the revival. The farmers raised sufficient to maintain the settlements, but nothing was shipped down to Montreal. The traders purchased goods from below, and sold

them for furs, the chief commodity of exchange for a long time, but the orchards of apples yielded a larger supply of fruit than could be used at home, and cider began to be exported.

In 1734, the Royal Notary, Navarre, came here to reside. He was next in importance to the commandant, and his coming gave new life to the society of the settlement.

The second generation was now in control of affairs, and the number of young people in the village was greatly increased. With the years, the villagers had increased their worldly goods. They had horses and saddles, and a few French carts. A road was made along the river bank. Their houses were better constructed, and they lived better, and more independent. Most of the farmers lived on their farms part of the time, but retired to the village if the Indians threatened to trouble them. There was a garrison maintained at the post composed of people who were half soldiers and half artisans, for the soldier's pay was very small, and he eked out a subsistence by working at some trade, or as a gardener.

Even in Cadillac's time there were musicians in the garrison, for we have an account of the trial and the execution of a drummer in Cadillac's company, before they came to Detroit.

Some of the older citizens of today remember at the dances in their childhood, one of the instruments used was a Jewsharp. This instrument is no longer used for such purposes, but when it commenced to be employed is not recorded. In the absence of a better musical instrument, the flying feet might keep time to cleverly manipulated bone clappers.

St. Saveur was the drummer of the garrison in 1748, and in addition to his duties of furnishing music to the townspeople, he announced the public meetings, public auction sales, and other public events, by beating his drum in the principal streets of the village. This duty of giving public notices was also sometimes performed by a public bell ringer.

Notices of importance were given by this bell ringer proceeding through all the streets of the village calling out his news or notice. A written notice was also posted on the church door, though it is very probable that only a few citizens could either read or write.

There is mention in the early church records of Jean Baptiste Roucoux, first chanter and teacher in the Christian school, and in the public library in Detroit is an old account book, kept about the year 1750, which contains a piece of music evidently written about that date by Roucoux, or by Etienne Dubois, for use in the church service. Dubois performed the dual services of chanter and sexton.

It was in the Fall of 1760 that the English troops, under Major Robert Rogers, took possession of the fort and village. What a change this must have been, and how excited the people were. The little community that had existed so completely within itself for nearly sixty years that it had scarcely known what was going on in the great world without, was, in a day, without the firing of a gun, with but the parley of a few hours, converted from the quiet French community into a hustling English settlement. For sixty years Detroit's closest neighbors were Mackinac, Vincennes and Kaskaskia. She was at peace with the world, for she was unknown to the world. Now all was changed—and changed almost without warning. Armed troops marched into the settlement and took control of the village. Sentinels were posted at night to watch for foes, where no one had thought of watching before. Sentinels were marching all day and all night along the banquette of the palisade. The Indian trade was no longer carried on by the French people, for the new traders—the English, Irish and Scotch—had usurped the business and the former citizens were driven to their farms for a living.

It was not long, however, before a better feeling came between the Canadians and the English. The young and unmarried girls and women of the post

soon became acquainted with the young soldiers in the garrison, and they were willing instructors and scholars in learning, each the language of the other. Every effort was made to conciliate the conquered Canadians, to make them feel at home with the master nation.

The next year after the conquest (1761) Sir William Johnson paid a visit to Detroit, and his coming was followed by a period of entertainments that lasted until he left the settlement. Each day was filled with the work of seeing the French people and getting acquainted with them, and in meeting the Indians and talking to them, purchasing their friendship, which lasted only as long as they could see the benefit of the purchase price.

Johnson kept a journal of his trip and we find this entry under the date of Sunday, September 6th: "A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Madamoiselle Curie—a fine girl. We danced until 5 o'clock the next morning." He had the name of the young lady wrong, but it was quite as near as he could be expected to get the peculiar French name "Cuillerier." This was Angelique Cuillerier, daughter of Antoine Cuillerier dit Beaubien. The baronet remained some time in the place, and was the subject of repeated entertainments. He writes that he took a ride before dinner towards Lake St. Clair. "The road runs along the river side which is thickly settled nine miles." "The French gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball tomorrow night, which I am to give to the ladies." Here again he met the same young lady—evidently by appointment. He writes: "In the evening the ladies and gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until seven o'clock in the morning, when all parted very much pleased and happy. Promised to

write to Madamoiselle Curie as soon as possible, my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before."

A strenuous life Sir William led in these few weeks in Detroit, but a more strenuous time he would have led upon his return to his old home if his Indian wife (or housekeeper, as he calls her in his will), Molly Brant, had known of his doings at Detroit. It was well for her peace of mind, and well for his personal safety, that she was kept in ignorance, for it is said that she had an ungovernable temper and was a terror when her will was crossed. She was a sister of Joseph Brant, the great Iroquois chief, and was the mother of ten children by Sir William Johnson.

Angelique, the little French girl who, with her pretty face, her jet-black hair, her bright eyes, her winning ways and her broken English, had won the heart of the baronet, was not left long to pine for his absence.

James Sterling, a young Scotchman, who had come with the garrison and who was the storekeeper in the post, soon became the instructor of the French damoselle in the English language, while he received instructions in French from her. In 1763 when Pontiac was conspiring to surprise and murder the garrison, Angelique learned of his plans, and told her lover, who, in turn, informed Major Gladwin, and the surprise, so cleverly planned, was prevented and the garrison saved.

Sterling and Angelique were married shortly after this, and although they remained many years in Detroit, they were the steadfast friends of the Colonies during the Revolutionary War. Both husband and wife suffered for our cause, and were driven from their Detroit home, never to return.

The news of peace between France and England, of 1763, was brought to Detroit in a very peculiar way. The village was besieged by the Indian Pontiac and his Hurons. So closely were the English confined within the palisades of the village, that they

did not dare open the gates or go beyond the portals. George McDougall, who had ventured to go to Pontiac, upon his assurances of personal protection, was a prisoner among the Indians. A letter was brought from Niagara to Major Gladwin, who was in command at Detroit, notifying him of the conclusion of peace between England and France. The bearer of this letter was killed by the Indians, and the note taken from him and given to Pontiac. The latter called upon McDougall to read it, and Pierre Chene Labutte interpreted it to the Indians. McDougall succeeded in keeping the paper, and on the night of June 2, 1763, he let another white prisoner take the letter, and run with it from the Indian encampment to the Fort. This messenger arrived entirely naked, bearing only the very welcome message of peace, at three o'clock in the morning. Upon being admitted to the Fort, his message was received and read, and the account states that upon the following evening there was an instrumental concert to celebrate the arrival of the welcome news.

Just a month later, McDougall managed to escape from the Indians, and ran into the fort in much the same manner as the messenger who had escaped.

Until the coming of the English in 1760, the affairs of the village were mostly managed by the commandant, but Englishmen had little idea of vesting authority in a single individual. They wanted to be governed by the laws, not by individuals. They wanted trials by jury, not the will of the commandant. For the first few years they had enough to occupy their attention in maintaining a semblance of friendship with the Canadians and Indians, but occasionally some other trouble arose that they had to attend to.

The place was in the Indian country, and was not subject to the laws of England except as the people applied these laws. Criminals from other places fled to Detroit to escape punishment. Several crimes of magnitude were committed at Mackinac and Detroit, and some executions for murder and stealing took

place here. A man named Schindler was accused of selling base metal for silver, and was tried before the local justice and was acquitted by a jury chosen to try him, but the English governor, Hamilton, was so impressed with the man's guilt, that he ordered him drummed out of the settlement. There was, at that time, a quarrel between the governor and the lieutenant who was in command of the garrison, and the latter would not permit the drummer to beat his drum while passing through the citadel where the soldiers were.

At the public execution or hanging of a man convicted of murder, the band of musicians from the garrison surrounded the scaffold and played airs suitable to such a solemn occasion.

During the Revolutionary War, there were parties of Indians and white men constantly going from Detroit to seek out the settlements on the borders of the colonies, destroying the houses and making prisoners of and murdering the inhabitants.

It is not recorded that any instruments of music were taken on these incursions, for their success depended upon their stealth, and a noise might betray their coming and prevent that unforeseen attack that they were desiring. The Indian war-whoop was practiced by both whites and reds, for signals as they required. The scalping of Indians by white men was quite as common as the scalping of the whites by the Indians.

Major DePeyster, who was in command in Detroit during a portion of this war, writes May 26, 1780: "Everything is quiet here except the constant noise of the war drum. All the seigneures are arrived at the instance of the Shawnese and Delawares. More Indians from all quarters than ever before known, and not a drop of rum."

DePeyster was something of a poet and several short poems of his relate to his life at Mackinac, Detroit and Niagara. One poem is devoted to carioling or racing on the ice on the River Rouge. Everyone who had a horse was present. The festivities of

the occasion were under the management of Guillaume LaMothe, a Frenchman who was an officer in the Indian department. A feast followed the race, which was enjoyed by the officers and their wives and guests. Much drinking was indulged in, and the party was hilarious. The poet, with unusual poet's license, had the wild bears and deer come from the woods and watch the pleasure seekers at their camp:

"The goblet goes round, while sweet echo's repeating,
The words which have passed through fair lady's lips;
Wild deer (with projected long ears) leave off eating,
And bears sit attentive, erect on their hips."

"The fort gun proclaims when 'tis time for returning,
Our pacers all eager at home to be fed;
We leave all the fragments, and wood clove for burning,
For those who may drive up sweet River Red."

DePeyster, although the military commandant, was, in truth, the civil commandant as well, for the lieutenant-governor, Hamilton, the civil governor, was a prisoner of war at Williamsburg, Virginia, when DePeyster came to Detroit. Hamilton had been governor of Detroit for some three years, when, in the fall of 1778, he concluded to go to Vincennes to drive the rebels from the Ohio country. He utterly failed of his purpose, and was captured by General George Rogers Clark in the early part of 1779. The French inhabitants of Detroit were never cordially friendly to the British and when the news of the capture of Hamilton reached the place, the French were so elated that they held a three days' feast of rejoicing and building of bonfires to show their pleasure. This was the report made at the time, though it can probably be taken *cum grano salis*.

We have not sufficient data to tell just when William Forsyth came to Detroit, but we find him at an early date keeping a tavern or place of entertainment on Ste. Anne street in the old village. He owned a lot adjoining the citadel, on which he had erected a bowling alley and pleasure resort.

Probably the building also had a billiard table, for we know there were such tables in the country. The lot was wanted by the government to extend its barracks, and Forsyth was compelled to move out, and petitioned Governor Haldimand for damages for the loss of his property. As the bowling alley was a desirable adjunct to the pleasure resorts of the place, it was opened in another locality.

When the War of the Revolution came to a close, it was agreed that Detroit should become a part of the United States, and should be vacated by British soldiers. But Great Britain thought that if she could hold on a few years, the States would quarrel among themselves, and she could repossess herself of the country because of their contentions. She was fooled in this, but nevertheless managed to retain possession of Detroit until 1796. In the meantime, the place was governed by the law-makers of Canada, as if it belonged to that dominion. In 1791, Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and in the fall of 1792, there was held in Detroit an election for members of the Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada. This parliament was divided into two houses, the upper, called the Council, the members of which were appointed, and the lower, the Assembly, the members of which were elected.

In the upper house, there was one member from Detroit, Alexander Grant, known also as Commodore Grant, for he had charge of the entire navy on Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, during the Revolution.

The members elected to the lower house were William Macomb, uncle to our General Alexander Macomb, and David William Smith, who lived at Niagara. Smith attempted, at first, to gain his election as representing the county of Essex, but at this election he was defeated by Francois Baby. This election took place August 20, 1792, and after his defeat his friends put him up for election in the

County of Kent, which included the village of Detroit. The election was held August 28, 1792, and here he was successful.

The letters I have from him were written before either election took place, and were indited upon the supposition, or expectation, that he would win at the Essex election. As this was the first and only election to parliament ever had at Detroit, the description Mr. Smith gives of what he expects will take place is quite interesting: "Perhaps I should have done better to have set up for one of the seats in Detroit, as I hear only of Mr. Macomb who is to be proposed; but I did not then know they would be entitled to vote; besides were I thrown out on the 20th, I might have a chance on the 28th. The French people can easily walk to the hustings, but my gentry will require some conveyance; if boats are necessary, you can hire them, and they must not want beef or rum, let them have plenty—and in case of success, I leave it to you which you think will be best for my friends, a public dinner and the ladies a dance, either now or when I go up. If you think the moment the best time, you will throw open Forsyth's tavern and call for the best he can supply. I trust you will feel very young on the occasion, in the dance, and I wish that Leith and you would push about the bottle to the promotion of the settlements on the Detroit. The more broken heads and bloody noses there are, the more election like, and in case of success (damn that if) let the white ribbon favors be plentifully distributed to the old, the young, the gay, the lame, the cripple and the blind. Half a score cord of wood piled hollow, with tar barrel in the middle, on the common, some powder and plenty of rum. I am sure you will preside over and do everything that is needful. As far as my circumstances will admit there must be no want, and I am sure you will have everything handsome and plentiful. Elliot, I am sure, will give you a large red flag to be hoisted on a pole near the bon-fire, and some blue colored tape may be sewed in large letters, 'ESSEX.'

"Thus talked the woman to herself when she carried her eggs on her head to the market. She sat them, she hatched them, she sold them for a crown apiece, and then down she fell, eggs and all."

At another time he writes: "Have proper booths erected for my friends at the hustings; employ Forsyth to make a large plum*b* cake, with plenty of fruit, &c., and be sure let the wine be good and plenty.

"Let the peasants have a fiddle, some beverage and beef."

Jean Baptiste Beaubien, one of the founders of Chicago, and a noted fiddler at every dance in the early years of that village, was born in Detroit September 5, 1787. He was a cousin of Angelique Cuillerier.

The change of government finally came in 1796, when the English left and the Americans came in. It was not an unexpected change, and yet it made such an impression on the Canadian citizens who left the place rather than submit to the American rule, that they gave it the name of the "Exodus," a name by which it is familiarly known among their descendants even today.

The new-comers were from New York and New England stock, and they brought with them some new ideas, amusements and holidays. Perhaps Christmas and the king's birthday were observed by the older residents, but now came the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving Day, with its pumpkin pies, cider, and doughnuts. If the roasting of new corn and potatoes was unknown in Detroit before this era, it certainly was not afterwards. Stoves were not invented in time to be of general use in Detroit until as late, or even later, than the Exodus. The family baking was not done at home, but at the public bakehouse, but every girl and boy was so familiar with the fireplace and uncovered fire, that the roasting of corn and potatoes was no great novelty, though it was always a pleasure.

Then what of the husking bee, and the privilege of the fortunate finder of the red ear of corn, who was permitted to kiss the girl of his choice—if he could catch her. Did that come from New England, or was it indigenous to the soil that could yield a corn crop?

The hunting of nuts in the fall by groups of children or of grown folks could not have originated at that time, though it was doubtless engaged in, as it had been for a century before. Of wild grapes and berries of all varieties there was an abundance, and it did not need much of an education to instruct the young folks in the idea of having a crowd to do berrying and enjoy the fun, and every day was a picnic.

There were probably few, if any, two-story buildings in the vicinity of Detroit before 1796, but after that date they began to increase in numbers, and on the occasion of the erection of each new building there was the raising bee of neighbors accompanying the work with a boiled dinner for the crowd, and perhaps something a little stronger than water in the way of beverage.

There was a harpsichord in the settlement some years prior to the opening of the new century. Just when this musical instrument was brought to Detroit is uncertain, but it was there long before the year 1799, for at that date it was represented to be in a dilapidated condition. It was the property of Dr. William Harpfy. Harpfy was a surgeon in the British garrison, and when the Exodus took place in 1796, he was moved to the new establishment at Malden, and he took his harpsichord with him. Among his most intimate friends at Detroit were John Askin and Commodore Alexander Grant. Grant had been commodore of the lakes during the Revolution and was, in 1792, appointed one of the members of the executive council for Upper Canada —a life position. John Askin was an extensive trader at Detroit, and brother-in-law of Grant. Grant lived at Grosse Pointe and there had a castle

well filled with young lady daughters. There were ten in all, of whom nine grew to womanhood, Therese (Mrs. Wright), Nellie, Archange (married Thomas Dickson), Phillis (married Alexander Duff), Isabella (married Mr. Gilkison), Nancy (married George Jacob), Elizabeth (married James Woods), Mary Julia (married Mr. Milles), and Jean Cameron (married William Richardson). The absence of any of the ten from the family circle could hardly be noticed, for the deficiency was filled by the cousins, daughters of John Askin. Of these cousins, frequent visitors at the Grant castle, there were Adelaide Askin (afterwards the wife of Elijah Brush); Therese, who married Colonel Thomas McKee; Ellen, the wife of Richard Pattinson, and Archange, who became Mrs. Meredith, and removed to England with her husband, who was an officer in the British forces.

The first record we have of this harpsichord is contained in a letter from Dr. Harpfy to his friend John Askin. Harpfy was somewhat eccentric and quite voluble in his letter writing. This letter is dated October 17, 1799, and after dilating on various other matters, he turns his attention to the subject of music, and says "Curse the music. I wish it was sold. I care not for what, as all my wants and wishes to attain are not worth the pains or trouble to my friends. You will favor me if it could be in any way disposed of."

It seems that the subject of the sale of this instrument had been talked over on some previous occasion between Askin and Harpfy, for the latter again writes: "In looking over your letter of the 14th, I thank you for your very great kindness in regard to the harpsichord—but I am told it is a mere wreck—therefore, as I have mentioned before, I wish it sold."

What more proper place for such a piece of furniture than the castle of Commodore Grant, where it could receive the attention of so many young ladies. Harpfy and Askin concluded that the castle

was in need of just such an article, and one day, when one of the commodore's boats was at Malden, they slipped the instrument aboard and it was soon landed at Grosse Pointe. Then came the fun. It was so old and dilapidated that it was useless and in the way. No one wanted it. Only the old friendship existing between Grant and Harpfy prevented the former from casting the musical instrument into "outer darkness." Grant complained to the doctor and asked him to take the piece away from his home. Harpfy had occasion to visit Sandwich and wanted to cross the river and see Askin in Detroit, but the ferry was not running very regularly, and the doctor was not feeling very well—he had been sick and was now slowly recovering. Instead of visiting Askin, he wrote him a long letter on various matters, and as a postscript, touched on the subject of the instrument: "October 28th, 9 o'clock at night. I really am sorry that the harpsichord was put in Mr. Grant's boat, for he talks about it—Gods, how he talks about it." The joke had been carried too far and Grant would not overlook it, or allow it to proceed further. The instrument must be removed, and that at once. So Askin sent for it, and had it taken to one of his storehouses in the village, where it was taken care of. Askin lived on the front of his farm, not far from the intersection of Atwater and Randolph streets. Atwater street was the only highway to the country on the east side, and the well-to-do class of citizens lived in the neighborhood. Here Askin owned several buildings, and, besides, he had several houses and buildings in the village proper. The last we hear of the instrument that came so near being an instrument of discord, is a note in a letter from Dr. Harpfy to Mr. Askin, dated November 5, 1799, where he writes, "I thank you for your care of the harpsichord. I wish it could be sold."

In 1799 there was an election held in Detroit for members of the Legislature, that met at Chillicothe, and Solomon Sibley, then a young attorney at Detroit, was one of the candidates. Voting then was not

by secret ballot, as now, but every one gave the name of his candidate as he came up to vote. The voter's name was taken down, and his qualifications for suffrage were also frequently indicated.

At the election referred to, some opponent of Judge Sibley kept such a record of the persons who voted for him and from this list I have taken a few names of persons whose descendants are still here.

Antoine Dequindre, who was, at that time, the owner of the farm extending along the westerly line of Dequindre street, is thus mentioned, "Has given his creditors all he has; the farm on which he lives is the property of his wife."

Christian Clemens, the founder and owner of Mount Clemens, "Has no property known."

Ezra F. Freeman, then one of the principal lawyers in the place, "Has no property in the country."

James Henry, an uncle of the late D. Farrand Henry. He was, at the time of his death, one of the wealthy citizens of the place, "Lives at Grosse Isle. Lately liberated from the Indians; lives on the estates of the late Macomb."

Elijah Brush, the founder of the Brush family, and the owner of the Brush farm, "Lately arrived; has no property known."

Sibley was elected over James May, and served in the legislature with Jacob Visger and Charles Francois Chabert de Joncaire.

This brings us to the beginning of the second century of the life of our city. Its population had increased from the one hundred who came at the start to some eighteen hundred who lived in the place, and along the shore line on both sides of the river.

Now we are well on in the third century of our existence.

We look back upon these happy days and sigh as we remember that the simple life—the simple pleasures—and the simple folks of this long ago, are no longer with us, and cannot be found in the tumult of our great city. I thank you.

TOASTMASTER: It is with peculiar pleasure that we welcome into our circle tonight Rev. Dr. Marquis. (Applause.) Formerly a minister who belonged to a denomination; now he belongs to the community. (Applause.) I love to recall a book-store conversation with the late Bishop Harris, in which he remarked—suggested by the volume that he had been glancing at, "The essential matters are not those that are peculiar to one denomination, but those that are common to all denominations." It is this liberal spirit, now so prominent among the leading clergymen of the country everywhere, that is doing so much for the good of the American people. You know that all the great religious ideas of the world had their origin in Asia. They flourished and became differentiated, and finally became hostile, even to death, in Europe; and it is the mission of the United States to harmonize these formerly hostile religious ideas upon a higher plane of beneficial service and practical utility to mankind; not the monotony of unity, but harmony in variety; hastening the day when swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, when societies of wars and revolution shall be messengers of peace, and of law and of order. A marquis, in the old feudal time, was the officer who was responsible for the frontiers, and our own Marquis has prominently carried the flag of intellectual and religious freedom far in advance upon the frontiers of modern thought. We are fortunate, tonight, in closing our program, in having a talk from Dr. Marquis, upon Patriotism. (Applause.)

DR. MARQUIS: Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen, I promise you, that the very best thing about my address tonight will be,—if I can make it so,—and get out of my preachifying habit,—its brevity.

PATRIOTISM

Address by

Rev. Samuel S. Marquis, D. D.

The subject of patriotism is one that I am well aware is familiar to you gentlemen of this organization, and the idea that is embodied in that word is, I know, very familiar to us all. Yet, I think that the most familiar words are those that, after all, convey in them a lost meaning. I have wondered, as I have been thinking over this topic, whether the real idea of patriotism is one, after all, that is very clear in our minds. We ordinarily think of patriotism, I think, as that which is manifested in men under test, or in times of danger. We think of the patriot, too often, as a man who takes a musket upon his shoulder and goes to the front when his country is threatened. But I am not quite sure but what a higher patriotism is that which is manifested by a citizen in time of peace. Our patriotism, I think, is a good deal like our religion. If it were possible that the Turks should land in this country and attempt to force their religion upon us, by force of arms, I doubt not there would be thousands and hundreds of thousands of those who are nominally Christian, who would be willing to lay down their lives to prevent a thing of that kind. In other words, they would die for Christ, but you could not get many of them to live for Him. And there are a great many of us, I think, that perhaps would die for our patriotism, but it would be very difficult for us to really rise to a higher station and live for it. Because I take it, that it takes a higher order of man to be a patriot in peace than to be a patriot in war.

Now, I am only going to simply outline what I had in mind to say to you tonight, and leave you to think it over. I want to draw a distinction in my own mind between what seems to me to be the true and false patriot. To illuminate that which is false, let me simply briefly cite some three or four kinds of false patriot.

There is the patriot of the hot-air kind, if you will pardon the slang phrase. He is the man who takes it all out in boasting about his country, and especially about the bigness of it. If you mention a soap factory that you have seen in England, he knows of a bigger one in America. If you talk about the champagne of France, it is not anything to compare with the champagne that is made in California. There is always something of a bigger or better character in his own country. He is entirely satisfied, apparently, with the bigness and superiority of his country and that boastfulness of his takes, in his mind, the place of loyalty, or patriotism. There are those who are satisfied with anything and any place, but it is not an indication that a man is a patriot because he is satisfied with the country in which he lives.

It reminds me of what, possibly, to you is an old story, of the two Irishmen who happened to pass out of this life together, or very nearly together. One went up the grand stairway, and the other down. After a number of centuries had passed by, they chanced to meet one day upon the landing. Pat says to Mike, "How do you loike it up there?" Mike says, "It is foine, they gave me a job that I was on to before I went; I have been paving the streets, and it is a nice clean job, just layin' gold bricks. There is not many of us up there, and we have to work tin hours a day." Then he says to Pat, "How do you loike it down where you are?" "Well," replied Pat, "I loike it very well, they gave me a job I am on to; I have been tinding furnace ever since I went down there." "But," says Mike, "it is a nasty, dirty job; don't you wish you had the one I have?" "Oh, I don't know," says Pat, "there are so many of us

down there that we only have to work seventeen minutes once in thirty-six years." (Laughter.)

There is a certain kind of satisfaction that a man can drum up about his country, and possibly let it pass for patriotism.

Then there is the patriotism that manifests itself in a form of loyalty for one's political party. You will meet the man who is sure that the man who does not vote as he is voting, is somehow or other a traitor, that is all there is to it, there is no way around it, if he does not believe in a tariff, or free trade; and if he does not believe in the gold standard, or in 16 to 1, or whatever the case may be, he is dead sure that *he* is on the side of the patriots, and that voting as he does is the thing. That is the evidence of that fact. And so, you may go along the line. There are these false standards of patriotism, these false ways of expressing it, and many of us, I fear, have not gotten quite beyond these standards.

Now, briefly, my idea of a patriot is a man who stands for these three things: First of all, for the ideals that lie behind and were in the minds of the men who were the founders of this country. In the second place, the man who loves the people of his country, not simply its mountains and its streams, or some particular state, or some particular city or village, or the farm on which he was born, but a man who really loves the people of his country, and who is willing to rise above selfishness, and to do everything in his power for the good of his country, and for the good of the whole of the people of that country. And in the third place, the man who feels that the nation is as sacred as the church, or the family, and that his duties as a citizen are just as divine and sacred as any of the duties that can possibly fall to man.

Now, briefly, let me just dwell upon these three things for two or three minutes. First of all, as to the ideals. You men know more about these things, because you are students of these things, and you

come of a line of ancestors that naturally lead you into that study. You are more familiar with them than I am myself; but as I read the history of this country, there were three currents or three streams of blood that really unite in the heart of this nation; three ideals or ideas that, somehow or other, mingle in the mind of the nation. There was the ideal in the blood of the Puritan; there was the ideal in the blood of the Quaker, there was the ideal in the blood of the Cavalier. You know what the ideals are, and what the ideas were that come down to us from the Puritan, with his religious intensity, with his ethical standard, with his sense of native independence, and with his business push and tact. Yet, I sometimes think, if the old Puritan were to come back and look over his descendents, that he would find today that possibly the characteristic, or chief thing that he has stamped upon, and that has been left upon his descendents is, after all, his business sense. That the moral or ethical standard which he carried into it, his religious sense, that those things are waning, and that peculiar business instinct which he had, and which put New England at the front, and which has made his descendents men of progress in the commercial world everywhere, that this was not the thing, above everything else, that has survived.

Now, I think that the patriot, or the man who is a descendent of the Puritan, owes it to his forefathers to keep alive, not simply the business instinct, but that we, as patriots, if we are true, must stand more and more for the ideals of the fathers, so far as the moral ideals, or ethical standard which he dare carry into his every-day life. We need that in the nation's life today.

Going to the Quaker, we find him standing among other things, especially for this, for toleration. I mean, not simply tolerance of another's religious views, but tolerance in the widest sense of the word. I sometimes think that we sometimes do not quite understand what tolerance means. We

have gotten a kind of free and easy way in these days. We think we are tolerant, but I think we are indifferent, and there is quite a difference between the two, just as there is a difference between liberty and license. A man is not tolerant who has not any ideas of his own. It was not because the Quaker did not believe, but it was because he did believe, that he could afford to be tolerant. The greatest sceptic on God's earth is the man who is afraid to let another man fully comprehend that which he believes. It is simply because he has not faith or confidence in his own conviction that he is afraid of another man's conviction or difference from him. It is because a man does believe, that he can afford to be tolerant. If I believe, for example, that I may stand forth just as true in anything, I can afford to let another man have his opinions. Let time test the truth. I do not have to uphold it, I do not have to stand behind it in that sense. The test of time will tell, and I can leave it to that. And I think, that along with the Quaker ideal that we should be careful that we have gotten it, not simply a mere tolerance or mere indifference, but that we should have convictions, as men, for which we stand.

And last of all, the ideal that came from the Cavalier. You know the charm and courtliness of his life and all that, but here is one of the strong contradictions in American history, it seems to me. You know it was the Virginia planter who proposed, first of all, a Union as opposed to a loose confederacy, if I remember rightly. It was the great Cavalier Washington who gave us the idea of a Union. Yet, in later years if I remember rightly, it was some of the New England colonies that stood out a long time against that idea. But the strange thing and contradiction in the history is, that later on when the nation met, north and south, upon the field of battle, the Cavalier's descendents were contending for the confederacy, and those of the north for the Union. In both armies there may have been certain interests of a selfish character that came into

it, whatever they were, I cannot tell, but we have inherited from him from the south, in his idea and conception of the Union, the Nation for which it seems to me every patriot must stand.

I want, just briefly, to speak of one other thing, and that is, that a man who is a patriot, loves the people of his country. We have a song called "My Own United States", in which we speak about loving every blade of grass, and every flowing stream and rill, and all that kind of thing, and I tell you there is a great deal of patriotism that does not go any further than just that. It is just a kind of sentiment about the country, a sort of home feeling that we have here, and it is something that anybody can have. The question, it seems to me, of love of one's country is not simply a question of whether you love Michigan as a State. It is whether you love the people. It is whether a man is really big enough, and unselfish enough to be standing for the highest interests of all the people, and not simply for himself or for his own individual interests. When you come to the manifestation of that love, here is one of the reasons, one of the things that makes me think that patriotism is not strong, or as strong as it ought to be in this country. When you come to the manifestation of patriotism which, in its last analysis, is love of the whole people of your country, how can you manifest it? You can manifest it in but only one way, that is in service; but it seems to me that one of the evidences that we are lacking in the highest form of patriotism in these things is the evidence that men, oftentimes like yourselves, who are descendents of the men who helped found this nation, are today not giving yourselves to the service of the community as you should give yourselves. It is almost impossible to get men of higher interests and higher ability to give up a little bit of their time. I do not mean to go down and serve at Washington, or even to go and serve at Lansing, but to serve right here in the City of Detroit for the higher interests of the people. Pat-

riotism like love, begins at home, and a man cannot claim to be a patriot who is a patriot only when the nation is in danger, and refuses to be a patriot when his city needs his individual support and help. So I simply leave—putting out all other thoughts—that one idea, as a test of your patriotism, and of mine, as to whether or not we are patriots in fact, whether we love enough our own people, to give them here, in our own community, our best, our highest service. I thank you. (Applause.)

TOASTMASTER: Without further formality, we will bring our delightful and profitable evening to a close.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE GRIFFON.

From Hennepin's Voyage ou Nouvelle decouverte dans L'Amerique.

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U.
B
(Burton)

HISTORICAL PAPER

DELIVERED

BY C. M. BURTON,

BEFORE THE

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS

OF THE

STATE OF MICHIGAN.

AT A SOCIAL COURT HELD AT THE RESIDENCE OF
GOVERNOR THEODORE H. EATON,
JANUARY TWENTY-SIXTH,
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWO.

1903.
WINN & HAMMOND,
Detroit.

LaSALLE AND THE GRIFFON.

By C. M. Burton.

ON the 26th day of January, 1679, was laid the keel of the Griffon, the first sail vessel on Lake Erie, and the last sail vessel built and sailed on this lake for more than half a century. Some question has been raised as to the exact location of the shipyard of the Griffon, but it is sufficient for us to know that it was located on the Niagara River, between the Falls and the present City of Buffalo, probably on the eastern side of the river, but possibly on the Canadian side.

René Robert Cavelier, commonly known by the name of LaSalle, which was the name of his ancestral estate in France, came to America in 1666, at the age of 23 years. He early evinced a desire to explore the western country, along lines that were entirely unknown at that date.

LaSalle in his youth had studied for the priesthood, but the education obtained in his preparatory studies directed his mind along the lines of liberal thought, then quite prevalent in France, and he soon concluded that he was not fitted for the ministry, and so turned his attention to more worldly affairs.

The Society of Jesus, commonly called the Jesuits, was very powerful both in France and in Canada at this time, and its influence with the Court party and constant attempts to control the political affairs of the new country had raised against it a host of enemies.

Governor Frontenac was the most important of the enemies of this Order in New France, but there were many others of lesser note then, and in after times, as LaSalle, Cadillac, and all of the priests of the other religious orders, who were outspoken in their opposition and suffered in consequence.

In some ways Frontenac and LaSalle were alike. Both zealous in their love for their mother country, and anxious that its unknown territory should be explored and reduced to a proper subjection. Both decidedly opposed to the Jesuits, and determined that they would not be subject to the rulings of the Order. Both indefatigable in the work in which they were engaged, and determined to succeed at all hazards. So it happened that these two men fell to liking each other, and their contact was a matter of benefit to both.

A fort had been erected upon the north shore of Lake Ontario, which LaSalle obtained as a grant from the King of France, and with the grant he obtained the privilege of founding there a colony to be administered to by a Recollet Friar. The same plan was followed many years later by Cadillac in the founding of our own City of Detroit, and with a like result, in that it brought down upon the head of each the wrath of the Order of Jesuits, then the most powerful organization in the world.

It was hard for either man to stand up in opposition to this Order, and the troubles and trials of each may largely be laid to the opposition of this enemy.

LaSalle had conceived the idea that by progressing westward along the line of the St. Lawrence River, and beyond, he would ultimately discover a passage that would lead to China, and, it is said, that

this idea, promulgated at this time to a horde of unbelievers, was scoffed at and ridiculed to so great an extent that the LaChine Rapids in the River St. Lawrence were so named in derision of LaSalle's contemplated expedition to China through those waters.

The building of Fort Frontenac, at Kingston, was in opposition to the wishes of the Iroquois Indians, with whom the French could never keep on friendly terms, and they desired its destruction. It was not destroyed, but it did not prosper, and it was not long before LaSalle asked permission to leave it, and to work on further, into the unknown country in his explorations.

In 1678 he obtained permission to explore the western country, and began making preparations for the journey.

We now know that as early as 1656, and possibly much earlier, certain persons had passed around Lakes Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, and through the Detroit River, and had explored the same sufficiently to make a fairly accurate map of the waters, and the adjacent land. This map had been published in Paris, by the official geographer, and copies of it were quite extensively circulated. These maps show that there were Jesuit missions scattered all over the lower portion of Canada, between the Detroit River and Lake Ontario, but they do not show that the explorers knew of the Falls of Niagara, or that there was any connection between Lakes Erie and Ontario.

It is fair to suppose that LaSalle knew of the existence of these maps, for they were printed in France and sold publicly. Their existence has always been known to students, but little attention

to them was paid by Windsor, Frost, Bancroft, or Parkman, and no mention is made of them by any of these writers to prove the early exploration of the western country.

In 1669 LaSalle had accompanied the two priests, Dollier de Casson and de Galinee, as far as the Falls of Niagara on their trip through the Great Lakes, but at this point he had returned to Montreal, and they had proceeded on their journey and had made a map of their explorations, showing the Detroit River, but the map had not, in 1678, been published, and was not published for many years, though LaSalle may have seen the original draft.

So far as can be ascertained, LaSalle did not know how large Lake Erie was, or where a voyage would lead to, if once started upon its waters.

He built a brigantine of ten tons on Lake Ontario in 1678, and in order to extend his operations in trading and exploring further west, he planned to build a larger vessel above the Falls on Lake Erie.

His chief companions were Henry DeTonty, he of the iron hand; LaMothe de Lussiere, who, I believe, was a near relative of our own Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, and Father Louis Hennepin. Father Hennepin was a Recollet priest, at that time an intimate friend of the great explorer, and one of the recorders of the events of this occasion. The brigantine was employed to convey materials from Montreal for the purpose of building the new boat, and a tramway was built to convey the heavy materials up the elevation between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. On the 26th of January, 1679, the keel of the boat was laid, and men worked diligently to complete the vessel and get it launched, lest it should be destroyed by the Iroquois, who had threatened to burn it. The loss

of a part of the materials for the new boat required the return of LaSalle to Fort Frontenac and Montreal for new supplies, and subsequently Hennepin also returned to Fort Frontenac. In the meantime the work on the boat progressed, and in May it was launched and named the Griffon. It sailed part way up the Niagara River, but did not ascend the Rapids, and rode at anchor until the arrival of LaSalle, Hennepin, and LaForest. With the arrival of these men the heavy materials, anchors, cannon, munitions, and provisions were carried over the portage and around the Falls. Several times the sails were hoisted and the Griffon attempted to ascend the Rapids to the lake proper, but every attempt was a failure. At length, however, towards the end of July, or the first of August, 1679, a propitious breeze, with the aid of the land force towing the boat, carried it through the Rapids, and they were upon the great inland sea.

Tonty, in his narrative of the events of this period, says that just before the Griffon succeeded in mounting the Rapids of the Niagara, he, with five men, was sent forward to the mouth of the Detroit River, there to join fourteen Frenchmen who had already been sent to the place. This would indicate a knowledge on the part of LaSalle of the existence of the Detroit River and the topography of the country, though this information might have been obtained from Joliet, who had come down from Detroit River and met the party of LaSalle at their stopping place at the Niagara, while the Griffon was being built, or it might have been obtained from either of the maps before mentioned. Tonty arrived at his destination on the 20th of August, having set out on the 22d of July. Here he awaited the coming of LaSalle and

Hennepin, with their companions on the Griffon, who had started on the 7th of August, and upon their arrival the entire party embarked and proceeded up the river to Lake Huron. Tonty makes no mention of Lake Ste. Claire.

Hennepin's account of the Detroit River is very interesting, and it is apparent that the company was surprised and pleased with the prospect of the country. Vast prairies, which stretched as far as the eye could see, and bordered by hills covered with vines and orchards of fruit trees, with groves and high forest trees. On the banks of the river were quantities of deer, stags, kids, bears, not wild, but easy to catch, more delicious to eat than the fresh pork of Europe. They also found wild hens and swans in great quantities. They covered the high sides of their vessel with the skins of the deer they killed in the chase. As they ascended the river they found the banks covered with forests of walnut, chestnut, plum and pear trees, and wild grapes, from which they made a little wine.

It seems almost with prophetic pen that Father Hennepin wrote on this occasion: "Those who will have the good fortune one day to possess the lands of this agreeable and fertile Detroit will bless those who have made smooth the road and who have traversed Lake Erie through more than a hundred leagues of unknown navigation."

Hennepin proposed to LaSalle to found an establishment at the Detroit, he was so greatly pleased with its location and prospects, but LaSalle had other objects in view than stopping when his journey had but just begun, and so he proceeded.

It was on the 11th day of August, 1679, that they entered the Detroit River, and the next day they

reached a small lake, which, in honor of the Saint's day of August 12th, they named Lake Ste. Claire. Passing into Lake Huron they crossed the lake under many difficulties and through severe storms, and landed at Michilimackinac. The party proceeded to Green Bay, where the Griffon was loaded with furs, and dispatched on her return trip. On the 18th of September the loaded Griffon sailed for Niagara, but without LaSalle, Hennepin, or Tonty. She was wrecked a short time afterwards, but in what spot was never clearly ascertained. Thus begun and ended the sail navigation of the Great Western Lakes by the French.

The quarrel between the French and Iroquois lasted for some years, and the French did not dare undertake any improvements along the border of Lake Erie. Other explorers occasionally passed along the shores of Lake Erie and entered the upper lakes, but they used only the canoes and larger batteaux. The French were in possession of the country and claimed to own it, though the English would not acquiesce in their claim, and in 1689 sent a detachment of troops under two officers, McGregor and Rosebloom, to explore and take possession of the upper country in the name of Great Britain. The Englishmen were captured on Lake Huron and stripped of everything and sent to Montreal.

Nearly every advance into the western country was made on a road leading northwest from Montreal, along the Ottawa River to Lake Nippissing, and from that lake to the Georgian Bay. A post that was called Detroit, and which was located near the entrance of Lake Huron, on the banks of the River St. Clair, was destroyed by orders of the French Government in 1688 (August 27), and from that

date until the founding of Detroit, in 1701, by Cadillac, the French held actual possession on the lakes only of the upper country, though they claimed possession of the entire lake region. In 1702 Cadillac's wife made a trip through Lake Ontario, around the Falls of Niagara, and along the shores of Lake Erie to Detroit, and thereafter this was the usual route for traders and voyagers. It was sixty years more before the English came to Detroit as conquerors, and then Robert Rogers, the New England Ranger, came with his companies of troops to take possession of the place in the name of the English Government. He, too, came with canoes and batteaux, for there were no sail vessels in existence. The coming of the English marks an era in the progress of lake navigation, for the very next year, 1761, two sail vessels were built on the Niagara River for use on Lake Erie.

Before the building of any vessels, Major Walters, who was in charge of Niagara in 1760, reported that he was afraid sloops would not answer on Lake Erie, for the reason that there were no harbors, nor could such vessels get near enough to shore, owing to shoal water. He thought shallops and batteaux would be more serviceable. Notwithstanding this discouragement, in the following year Lieutenant Robertson arrived at Niagara to build lake vessels, and that year a Mr. Theis built two vessels on an island in the Niagara River for service on Lakes Erie and Huron, and as far as Lake Superior. One was a schooner drawing seven feet loaded, and carrying six guns, to be commanded by Lieutenant Robertson of Montgomery's Regiment, and the other, a sloop to carry ten guns. I do not know these boats by name, that is, not so as to be able to identify them, but the

"Serpent," "Beaver," "Charlotte," "Gladwin," "Victory," and "Boston" appeared at about this time.

These vessels played an important part in the siege of Detroit, and it is largely owing to the assistance received from them that Major Gladwin was enabled to withstand the attacks of the Indians until they were exhausted and discouraged. Major Gladwin himself sailed from Detroit on the 30th of August, 1764, on the schooner Victory. Almost on the same day Captain John Montresor explored the River Rouge, four miles from its mouth, to find a proper location for wintering vessels. In this year, also, men were set at work on Ile au Cochon, our Belle Isle Park, cutting timber for two scows to be used for bringing stone and other materials to the village. These boats were 70 feet long and 18 feet broad, capable of carrying 25 tons.

The new coming English and American citizens had taken nearly exclusive control of the carrying trade, and it increased very rapidly. It was estimated that in 1764 there were 180 boats employed in the Indian trade at Detroit, and that the trade amounted to £100,000 per annum, but it must be understood that most of these boats were small, for the larger sail vessels did not increase in number very rapidly. The first of the sail vessels were owned by the Government, and were used for military purposes, though they brought up freight when not otherwise employed. The British officials seemed unwilling to allow individuals to engage in the business. No serious fault was found with this procedure for many years. A shipyard was built at the water's edge at the foot of Woodward avenue, extending some distance easterly from this point, and here some buildings were erected for the officers and

men engaged in the naval department, and a force of men was kept employed during the Revolutionary War.

The Government appointed Alexander Grant, a Detroit citizen, whose family afterwards resided at Grosse Pointe, and who was master of the Brunswick, commodore of the lakes, to have general charge of the lake marine. Grant was a man of considerable importance, a member of the privy council, and at one time president of Upper Canada Parliament. He held the office of commodore for many years, and during the period the shipping business thrived. I believe that private ownership of vessels began after the French war was ended, but that during the Revolution all vessels were either owned or controlled by the British Government.

During British control there were many more boats put on the lakes; the Angelica, Adventurer, Athabaska, Annette, Chippewa, Enterprise, Dunmore, Detroit, Faith, Felicite, Good Intent, Gage, Hope, Harlequin, Hunter, Nancy, Ottawa, Saginah, Speedwell, Weasel, Wyandotte, and Welcome, and perhaps others. Many Detroit merchants were interested in or owned vessels for their private business, but the largest single vessel owner was the Northwest Company, of which McTavish, Frobisher & Co., of Montreal, were the representatives, and Angus McIntosh and John Askin the local agents and contractors. A number of the boats above named belonged to this company.

After the War of the Revolution was ended, the British still retained possession of Detroit, and of the lakes, in utter disregard of the terms of the treaty of 1783, and still carried the trade of all the upper lake regions to Niagara, Montreal and Quebec. They

stationed armed vessels all along the west end of Lake Erie, to prevent succors and assistance from reaching General Wayne, on his progress northward, that ended in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Two years later the lake posts were abandoned by British troops, and the reign of the Republic began.

Concerning the cost of building boats during this period, little can be determined at this distance of time, but I have in my possession the account of Peter Curry for building and managing the sloop Detroit from 1792 to 1796, and I have copied the items merely as a matter of curiosity. Peter Curry was the owner of a large tract of land on the River Rouge, adjoining the parcel officially known as the Ship Yard Tract (Woodmere Cemetery), and situated on the southerly side of Fort street. This was the shipyard for this part of the country, for here the ship timbers could readily be obtained, and the River Rouge was always navigable and never subject to be disturbed by storms. The parcel of land next below Mr. Curry's was owned by McTavish, Frobisher & Co., the representatives of the Northwest Company, and here their vessels were made, repaired and stored when not in use.

The account with the sloop Detroit is as follows:

1792.	To services in conducting and building the sloop, from November 8, 1792, to May 18, 1793, 192 days at 11/-	£105-12-00
	To allowance for 91¼ gals. rum while building the sloop	18- 5-00
	To pay, as master, from May 19, 1793, to Dec. 8, 1793, 6 months, 21 days, at £12 per month	80- 8-00
1793.	To primage on £1556-15-4 at 2½%	38-18- 4
	To paid Superintendent's fees	12- 2-10
	To one year's pay as master of the Detroit.	160- 0-00

1794.	To primage on £954-9-10 at 2½%.....	23-17- 3
	To paid Superintendent's fees	11-18- 0
	To pay as master, 6 months, 28 days, at £160 per year	92- 8-10½
1795.	To primage for one year.....	8- 8-10½
1796.	To paid Superintendent's fees.....	4- 8-10½
	To a chest of tools used in building vessel.	9- 6- 8
	To 377 mos. allowance of tea, for use of the cabin, 1 lb. per mo., 12/-.....	22-10-00
	To 377 mos. allowance of loaf sugar for cabin, at 4 lbs. per mo., 4/-.....	30-10-00
	To transportation of merchandise in the cabin	100-10-00
	Total, N. Y. Currency	£945- 5- 8½

The bill is instructive in showing the rapid decline of the Canadian carrying trade, for with the end of the account in 1796 came the American occupation of the lake ports, and the carrying trade was at once diverted to the American ports in American boats. The trade to Montreal and Quebec was nearly at an end, and Buffalo, Albany, and New York were the eastern trading posts.

The schooner Washington was the first American vessel on Lake Erie, in 1797, but others soon appeared and many of those formerly designated as Canadian craft became Americanized. The new vessels that appeared were the Montreal, Rover, Ranger, Cincinnati, Swan, Adams, Wilkinson. The earliest return of duties received on American vessels that I have in my possession is for the year 1800. There were only four vessels, the schooners Thames, Montreal, and Wilkinson, and the sloop Washington, registered. All of these sailed from Port Erie, Canada, to Detroit, and all were British except the Wilkinson. The total tonnage was 255, and the total duties collected was $15.30. The next year the tonnage had increased to 330, and the duties to $25.22. In 1802 the tonnage was 497, and the duties $29.83, and every vessel belonged to American citizens.

Shortly after the outbreak of the War of 1812, the British captured Detroit and became virtual masters of the lakes. There were no battles on the water until the Battle of Lake Erie, September 10th, 1813, and Detroit still held the British army. The vessels in this battle were the Detroit, Chippewa, Hunter, Queen Charlotte, Lady Prevost, and Little Belt, on the side of Great Britain, and the Lawrence, Scorpion, Ariel, Caledonia, Niagara, Somers, Porcupine, and Trippe, under Commodore Perry. This was the only naval battle that ever took place on the western waters, and no better description of its result can be written than that dispatched by Oliver Hazard Perry to General William Henry Harrison:

"Dear General:—We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The battle was so disastrous to British hopes and expectations that they despaired of longer retaining Detroit, and that place was evacuated within a short time, and the Battle of the Thames and defeat of Proctor soon followed. The war ended with the beginning of 1815, and an era of hard work and prosperity followed.

Steam navigation had already been tried on Lake Champlain, and in 1817 a steamer appeared on Lake Ontario. The Walk-in-the-Water, the first steamboat on Lake Erie, was built at Black Rock, a few miles below Buffalo.

It is a fact worthy of notice that the Niagara River has been the shipyard for the commencement of navigation at the three epochs of marine ship building. It was on that river that the Griffon first floated. It was there also that the Beaver and Gladwin were launched, eighty years later, the first vessel

made by Englishmen, and again after an interval of nearly sixty years more the forerunner of our vast navy of lake carriers slid from its stays into the waters of the Niagara on Thursday, May 28th, 1818.

As much difficulty was experienced in getting the Walk-in-the-Water into the waters of Lake Erie as there had been 129 years before in getting the Griffon through the same channel. The engine was not powerful enough to crowd the boat through the rapid current of the river, and after several days spent in making attempts, twelve yoke of cattle were attached to a long hawser, and by the aid of this new power, the "horned breeze," the boat was finally brought into the calmer waters of the lake.

This steamer reached Detroit Thursday, August 27th, 1818, and plied between that place and Buffalo until she went ashore in a storm in the fall of 1821.

The immediate successor to the Walk-in-the-Water was the steamboat Superior, and this boat was soon followed by others. The western fever had broken out in the East, and the tide of immigration set in shortly after these boats came to be used, and the fever did not subside until after the panic of 1837. There were no railroads, and the best way of reaching Michigan was by way of the Erie Canal, and thence by boat to Detroit. The boats were crowded during the entire period of navigation and new and larger steamers were added every season. It was estimated that the boats landed at the wharfs of Detroit one thousand strangers every day in the season of 1836, and probably as many or more the next year.

Everyone went wild with land speculation, and there were more boat accommodations for passengers in those years than there are at the present time,

though the elegant boats of that time would appear but as hovels compared with the floating palaces of to-day. It is not necessary, or perhaps profitable, to further follow the story of lake commerce.

I have said nothing of the ship-wrecks, the storms, the great losses that have occurred on these lakes from the launching of the Griffon to the present time. Millions of dollars of property and thousands of lives have been taken by these waters as a penalty for riding on their bosoms, but in spite of all discouragements, the lake carrying trade increases every year and has become the wonder of the world.

The tonnage that passes the locks at Sault Ste. Marie is more than double that which passes through the great Suez Canal, and all that passes through the Straits of Detroit exceeds many times that which enters the port of Liverpool.

After I had completed writing the foregoing I received a letter from your worthy Governor, which contained a clipping from the *Review of Reviews* in 1902, as follows:

"In 1899 there were more than 36,000,000 tons of freight carried through the St. Clair River. This seems large when it is stated by itself, but its real magnitude will perhaps better be appreciated when it is known it is 10,000,000 in excess of the tonnage of all the seaports in the United States for the same year, and 3,000,000 tons in excess of the total arrivals and clearances, both coastwise and foreign, of Liverpool and London combined."

Twee Huysers Hoeck
Oranje B
Lugd Oost Hoeck
Anthonis oste Cameels Hoeck
Lage Hoeck
Hollandsche Bay
Bay Sauvage
FRANCE
Brest
Belle Isle
Cap de Grace
Fichet
Cap Rouge
Baye d'Orge
Baye Blanche ou de Ste Claire
Baye de la Conception
C de Ste Francois
Gr Golfe
Isles d'Espou
C de Rat
Port de Quartier
Port de S Nicolas
Golfe de
St Laurens
Gr Baye
C Pointu
B de St Georges
Isle
de
Terre Neuve
C des Anguilles
Cap Breton
C Enfume
C Breton
Scatori
Pelee
C de Canceau
Martenge
Macomode
de Toutes Isles
Isle de Sable
B de Ste Claire
de St Pierre
de St Marie
Les Trespassez
le Grand Banc
NORT
LE CANADA, ou
OUVELLE FRANCE, &c
ree de diverses Relations des
Francois, Anglois, Hollandois, &c
Par N SANSON d'Abbeville
Geographe ordre du Roy.
Avecq Privilege pour Vingt Ans.
A Paris Chez l'Auteur.
1657.
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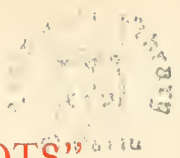


"PIONEERS AND PATRIOTS"

U.S. B
(Burton)

ADDRESS OF

DR. EDWIN ERLE SPARKS
of the University of Chicago.

"THE BOUNDARY LINES OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE TREATY OF 1782."

ADDRESS OF

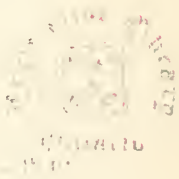
MR. CLARENCE M. BURTON,
of Detroit.

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SOCIETY

MAY SEVENTH, NINETEEN HUNDRED SEVEN

AT THE DETROIT CLUB,

DETROIT.



1908
WINN & HAMMOND
DETROIT

PIONEERS AND PATRIOTS.

ADDRESS OF
DR. EDWIN ERLE SPARKS,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

MAY 7, 1907.

Mr. Governor and Members of the Society of Colonial Wars:

Curious foreigners who have come to our shores to study us and to write a book after three weeks study—others have stayed longer as our distinguished representative (Bryce) of the British King at the present time, who has seen us as no one else has seen us—many of these foreigners I say, have endeavored to find, if possible, the real essence, the climax, the most characteristic thing of the American people. Some of them have thought that in Washington they found it in the assembling of Congress. Others have said that the highest type of the American Republic is to be found upon some Inauguration Day when the outgoing president rides side by side up Pennsylvania Avenue with an incoming president; the outgoing president yielding his position solely to the ballot box, no other force than that; and we thereby find the chief difference between us and the South American republics, where, when a new president is elected, he takes his position if he can succeed in putting the other fellow out, and this usually breeds a Revolution. So that someone has said they are all Sons of the Revolution down there. (Laughter). Others have found the essence of the American Republic in our educational system. I believe I will go beyond those factors and will find the culmination of American development in such meetings as we have here

tonight; places where the highest type of Americans shall come together and by a system of comity, of good fellowship, of friendship, of pure Americanism, patriotically revive and keep alive the traditions of the past. (Applause.)

Someone has well said that the nation which loses its traditions itself must soon perish. The nations of the old world hand down their traditions. We think of the modern Greek, how he goes back to the days of Thermopylae; we think of the modern Italian who runs away back to the days of Romulus and of Remus; we think of the numerous traditions of the German; we think of the Englishman whose history goes back to King Arthur's time. All these are old, centuries old. American history is simply the footnote, if you will allow me that expression, upon the great page of history. Yet we have our traditions; we have our Washington, we have our Lincoln and other great men, and as long, I say, as we keep alive these traditions by such occasions as this, I am satisfied that we shall not perish from the earth. It is therefore always a great pleasure to me to make one in such a meeting as this, especially when we have such good things to eat and such excellent things to drink and some very fine things to burn; where you have something a little more tempting than Father's Oats, or some kind of breakfast food, where you do not depend entirely upon Postmortem Cereal. (Laughter.) I take it, I say, that here foregathers the very essence of Americanism.

I am to speak upon the subject of Pioneers and Patriots, and I wish in advance that I could bring you something of such merit and such worth and such practical value as the words to which you have just listened. I have one thing in mind, my friends, if you will allow me, and that is that just as soon as the chair of Diplomatic History is vacant in the University of Chicago, you will lose one of your prominent citizens; (Applause) that is, if he is still out of a job.

A Voice: He won't be out of a job.

Dr. Sparks: He represents, if you will allow me to say so, and if his modesty will permit, he represents a certain type of American, the type of the American business man who is willing to give a portion of his time for the furtherance of the interests of the American public. It sometimes happens that a man's services to the Commonwealth comes in public office; sometimes it comes in public work such as he is doing here; and no man, I take it, appreciates more than I do as a teacher of American history, the value of the service that he is performing in bringing these documents where they can be made available to our students of American history. As your Governor has well said, he is performing a really great public service, and a greater public service because it is so little known and commonly brings such little applause with it. The quiet man who works along thoroughly the line that he has found is to my mind the typical American. (Applause.)

I come as a speaker from the University of Chicago, and I appreciate, my friends, in full just what that means. I know what kind of a reputation the members of the faculty of the University of Chicago enjoy, so far as newspaper reports are concerned. I found a clipping today in a newspaper which represents a tramp standing at a door talking to a very benevolent looking housekeeper, who is handing him out a bit of left-overs. She says to him, "My dear man, what makes you talk so wildly, so peculiarly?" He said, "My dear woman, I cannot help it. I was once a professor in the University of Chicago." (Laughter.) Now, I am aware that over there we have a reputation for saying wild things. I am aware that our president is supposed popularly never to open his mouth without announcing a gift of a million or two, a million or three, and immediately there is a fluctuation in the price of a standard commodity that is used generally throughout the United States. (Laughter.) I am

aware also that when the members of the faculty are turned loose from their padded cells, they are supposed to give a thrill with every utterance, or your money back at the door. They are supposed to announce some startling topic on every occasion, something as the result of private investigation. For instance, as a teacher of History, popularly I am supposed this evening to announce to you some celebrated discovery. For instance, I might be supposed to announce that after mature deliberation and investigation and searches of the historical records, it has at last been discovered that Caesar was not assassinated; that Brutus and Cassius and the rest of the conspirators, so called, were simply endeavoring to perform a surgical operation upon Caesar for the removal of his appendix; (Laughter) and that he resisted and disastrous results followed. Or I might be supposed, turning to French history, to make a great discovery about Charles the Fat; that is, Charles the Fat, why did he become so? Or Charles the Bald, what did he do for it? Or, if I turn to American history, I might be supposed to announce that after mature deliberation and long research, it has been found that George Washington had no intention of destroying the cherry tree, but that he was simply trying to graft a new species upon that cherry tree, and that therefore in place of the great and good man he is usually supposed to be, he was, in fact, the first great American grafter (Laughter).

Now, these are some of the things that we are supposed to announce from time to time. But I have come over without any startling announcement to make, without any manuscript to read, simply to talk to you a little about the pioneers of the early days.

To my mind, these Colonial Wars, being fought as they were almost entirely upon the Atlantic Coast Plain, represent the beginning of a greater movement in later times. This Atlantic Coast Plain, varying from fifty to two hundred miles in width,

was the scene of the early dramas, of the early events, of American history. Here Civilization took her stand, and here Civilization recruited herself for the long march across the American continent. We are tonight many miles and miles from that Atlantic Coast Plain, but nearly all of us descendants from ancestors who were born upon or migrated from that Atlantic Coast Plain. In California the same thing would be true. We have marched straight across the continent. De Tocqueville away back in 1832 visited us, and like James Bryce in later years, he undertook to describe the Americans as they were. He said, "The American people are moving straight across the North American continent like a people pushed on by the relentless hand of God."

It would have been enough to my mind here in America if we had solved the problem, as we have to a certain extent, of representative government. It is true we have not succeeded altogether; we have failed in some respects. But we have created a republic upon a larger scale than ever was dreamed of in preceding times. The republics of Greece were simply little provinces. The republic of the Netherlands might be set down in one of our states. The republic of Switzerland would be lost in several of the counties in Michigan. And yet those were the only republics until we started the plan here, and worked it out on this magnificent scale. It would have been enough, to my mind, if we had worked out only the principles of religious freedom. We have no religious tolerance in America; but we do have religious freedom! Tolerance pre-supposes the right of the state to prescribe the religion. Here in America the state has no right to prescribe any kind of religion, so that we have no toleration of religion; we have freedom of religion. (Applause.) It would have been enough, in other words, if we had worked out the separation of church and state as we have worked it out in America, thus leading the world in that particular. It would have been

enough if we had developed the individual rights of the individual man; or solved the problem of free and general education. But above all these triumphs we have done something more—we have conquered a continent; and as we advanced across the continent, we have not lost the high grade of civilization with which we started. I shall go within a few weeks to Oklahoma Territory to attend precisely such a function as we have here. I was there two years ago. I found the appointments not quite so elegant as they are here; but I saw there just as good Americans. None of them, probably not one man in the room, was born in Oklahoma; and yet they represent the American people crossing the continent and carrying with them the ambitions and hopes of civilization.

In this great work of taming wild nature, the pioneers led the way; pioneer farmers, beginning at the Atlantic Coast Plain, cleared the forests, drained the swamps and planted homes, while going across the continent. Well has Walt Whitman said, in one place, of these pioneers:

"Come, my tanned faced children
Follow well in order, get your weapons ready;
Have you your pistols? have you your sharp-edged axes?
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

For we cannot tarry here,
We must march, my darlings, we must bear the brunt of danger,
We, the youthful sinewy races, all the rest on us depend,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

So they have done their work, and completed their tasks, these pioneers who carved their way, one by one, boldly into the West.

This was no easy task that the pioneer fathers faced. They had constantly to deal with the Indian, and from the time of the "first encounter" in New England, these conflicts were many times repeated. Furthermore, they had to strive for the land with other nations. The English people were cooped up on the Atlantic Coast Plain for nearly two hundred years, gazing stupidly and stolidly at the

Appalachian mountains that reared their lofty summits in front of them. Now we have conquered those mountains. As we go east and west upon the great moving hotels, our palatial railway trains, we scarcely realize the existence of the mountains. But away back in the early days, to cross those mountains, was a task indeed. I found, in searching through the records of the Maryland Historical Society, a letter, which you will pardon me if I quote as best I can. One man was writing to another man and said, "I am very sorry not to have been present at the farewell dinner to Sally last week. Poor girl. How sad it is thus to be separated from friends and home and all she holds dear, perhaps forever."

The letter was written about 1788. How my heart bled for Sally. I didn't know who Sally was; but to think of poor Sally, thus being separated from friends and home and all she holds dear, perhaps forever. It made such an impression on me that some time after in the Congressional Library at Washington, in looking over the Dulaney papers, I came on a Sally, who was undoubtedly the same, judging from the date. It seems that Sally was Sally Dulaney who lived in Maryland. She was about to be married, and this was a farewell dinner given to her, and the writer of this letter had not been able to be present at the dinner. Where was Sally going? She was moving over into Kentucky. (Laughter.) "Farewell to her friends and home and all she holds dear, perhaps forever." Why, Sally going to the Klondike now would not be compared with Sally going to Kentucky in those days, across the mountains. I introduce this for the local color, for I think it will impress you as it impressed me with the distances in Colonial times.

Here stood the English then for many years, gazing helplessly at the mountains, while the French, as has been said tonight, passed swiftly up the St. Lawrence River, over the Great Lakes and down the Missisippi until they met other Frenchmen com-

ing in the opposite direction. These nations had formed a complete circle around the English, from Quebec to New Orleans, and there they were all these years, passing back and forwards and forming settlements. Here came in 1701 Cadillac to found the City of the Straits. At that time the English had not gotten one hundred and fifty miles at any one place from the Atlantic Ocean. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, realized the situation. Some of you may have descended from Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, for aught I know. He was a good ancestor of the Colonial Wars. He had a far sighted vision; he said to the British, "We must get across the mountains. The French are encroaching upon our domain in the valley beyond." Therefore he organized an exploring expedition, consisting of nineteen men, slaves and all. It was a great undertaking. They advanced through the forests and across the uplands with great difficulty, and when they finally reached what they thought was the Ohio Valley beyond, they decided to take possession in the name of his Britannic Majesty, George the First of England. They had brought along graving tools and proposed to cut upon the solid rocks the claim of the King of England to this territory. But they had not reached the Ohio Valley; they were only up in the Shenandoah Mountains some place. They had no appreciation of the distance. The carving tools they brought along were not equal to carving on those hard rocks. Therefore they held a banquet; I think that was the first banquet of the Colonial Wars in the early times. (Applause.) They held a banquet in the mountains, and drank the health of the King in eleven different kinds of liquors. That is a pretty fast pace and one that has been hard to follow since that day. In eleven different kinds of liquor they drank the health of the King, and then wrote on paper the title of the King to the land and put the claims inside the empty bottles and buried the bottles. They believed in gathering up the fragments, you see, in those days.

Meanwhile the French were developing the Middle West. Illinois rejoiced in a very early organized society. The French had an organization when as yet the English Government was thinly scattered over the eastern side of the continent. The Province of Louisiana was established before the colony of Georgia was founded over on the other side. The French had a government, a full code of laws, and a complete system of courts in the Mississippi Valley before George Washington was born in Virginia. Makarty came over and re-built the great Fort Chartres, which covered over four acres of ground. The entrance gate was fifteen feet high; the walls around it were solid walls, cut of stone taken from the adjacent cliffs. Every Frenchman who saw the lilies of France floating above that structure had his heart filled with joy. While the English persisted in their claim that the boundaries of the land which they discovered on the coast should extend straightway across the land, the French maintained the other great international theory that the discoverers of a mouth of a river have a right to the head of the river. But who would have thought at that late time that English colonization would ever drive the bold French out of the valley. There did come a time when George Washington got the start of his great military career by being sent across the mountains by Governor Dinwiddie to warn the French out of the British possessions. Now George Washington stands to me always as a type of the Colonial man. He was not born in England; he was the fourth of the family in America. His great grandfather migrated here, and therefore he grew up under American environment, and I think of him always as a soldier. What a magnificent form and physique he had! Do we realize that George Washington stood six feet and two inches in height? What a magnificent specimen he was. I doubt whether there is a man in the room who would have over-topped him. Six feet and two inches in height, with great, strong bones,

large hands and large feet. He wore number eleven shoes and number twelve boots. He was a big man, this man Washington was. He could get no gloves ready made that would button around his great wrists. He had to have his gloves made to order. It was said of him that he could outrun any boy in colonial Virginia. No wonder he could outrun any boy. The rest of them were handicapped, because you know the old law in physics—the longer the pendulum the greater the swing. Of course he could outrun any of them, and he could outwrestle any of them. It was said of him that he could throw a Spanish milled dollar across the lower waters of the Rappahannock River. When you go there and see the width of that river, you will begin to doubt that story; but there is always somebody to explain it by saying that money went farther in those days than it does at the present time. So this man Washington was a type of our Colonial Virginian. I think of him, if you will pardon me, with some pride because I myself am of Virginian descent. I suppose in that I am different from most of the men here; most of you probably are of New England descent. I am one of the very few men born outside of this New England who have ever achieved greatness. (Laughter). My ancestor was Captain Sparkes, he spelled his name S-p-a-r-k-e-s, which was a good plebeian name, as far as I know. The man who achieved the greatest fame of that name was at one time boot-maker to the Queen. Captain Sparkes came over in the second London Company, and when the division of land was made there at Jamestown, they gave him some land out on the Jamestown Neck. I suppose it was so poor that no one else would take it. Therefore the family I might say, in the slang of the day, got it in the neck very early in that way; and they have been getting it ever since that time. To illustrate again, a physician last year was treating me for rheumatism, and he asked, "Is there any gout in your family?" "Oh, no," I said "any family that came

from the Jamestown Neck never was rich enough to have the gout."

It was from the uplands of old Virginia that the first recorded incursion was made across the mountains into the West. Not that I claim anything extraordinary for Virginia in the way of courage. When it came to the Revolution, Virginia did not start the ball rolling. It was Massachusetts Bay with the tea party that started the thing up there, because it was a commercial war. But on the other hand, the Virginians were hardy woodmen; they depended for food very largely upon their long rifles. Colonel Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky, has a rifle which he says belonged to Daniel Boone. I cannot testify as to that. I never had a chance to interview Daniel Boone about that gun. In fact I may never have a chance, because he was a very good man as I understand. (Laughter.) But in any event the gun was shown to me, and when placing the butt upon the ground, I found that the end of the barrel came just to my eyes. The barrel was hammered out by hand. Daniel Boone, a South Carolinian, is a type of man of the early days, who migrated across the Allegheny Mountains. I think of Daniel Boone as a discoverer, like Columbus, a man who found a new world in the western land. In 1769 Daniel Boone felt his way across the mountains and through the valleys, marking the trees with his tomahawk so that he could find his way back to the settlements. He made his way through that wonderful Cumberland Gap into the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. He was the typical pioneer Colonel, the first of the bourbons that ever trod the Blue Grass country. I also think of the labors of another man, Robertson, who the same year made his way across the mountains and along the waters of the Cumberland River until he came to the place above the big lick and there he laid the foundations of the great city of Nashville, Tennessee. Or I am thinking again of 1788 when a party of men in a covered wagon drawn by six oxen left Ipswich, Mas-

sachusetts, the pioneers that went over and founded the town of Marietta, the first settlement in the Northwest Territory. Perhaps some of them were the ancestors of you gentlemen who are seated here this evening. And let us not forget the hardships endured by those pioneers of the early days. When Abraham Lincoln's mother died in a lonely cabin in Southern Indiana, there was no physician within thirty-five miles at that time, and she died of that horrible, that unknown, that mysterious thing they call the "milk sickness." Nobody knew what caused it; it was supposed to be due to some poisonous herb eaten by the cows. When Abraham Lincoln, as a boy, went to bed at night, he climbed up a ladder in the wooden cabin and slept upon a bed in the loft made of hay and fodder. From these hard conditions he rose to be the president of these United States, the finest type of the first great American.

"Nature they say doth dote, and cannot make a man
Save on some worn out plan repeating us by rote:

For him her Old World molds aside she threw,
And choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true."

We ask what caused the downfall of Rome? Her people grew enervated, over-luxurious, effeminate. Every road led to Rome, and with the riches of the provinces to draw from, they grew rich, over-luxurious. They tried to rival each other in orgies of the most extravagant kind. It is history that one man gave a banquet at which the principal dish was nightingale's tongues. As a result of this over-luxuriousness, over-effeminacy, Rome's national character was weakened and the destruction of Rome inevitably followed. Yet here in America today we are richer than any Roman ever dreamed of being. And if we have not become over-luxurious and effeminate and weak in our national character, I believe much of the reason

must be sought in the pioneer days; in the hardships of the early days that formed the American character such as it is at the present time. There are many here whose ancestors aided in the pioneer work, who built up the American life and who founded the American character. I say therefore that this pioneer movement of the West has constantly recruited the older parts and revivified the older states. Members of the Society of Colonial Wars, your ancestors, the men who began this great westward movement, that paved the way for others to follow, those are the men I fain would eulogize this evening.

Another interesting thing about this movement of the American people is that it has been almost a due west movement. I looked up the statistics the other day, and if I am correct, for every five thousand people that were born in the state of New York and migrated to the state of Michigan, that is, for every five thousand Michiganders that were born in New York—only one hundred and twenty-five New Yorkers have gone down to live in Arkansas. That does not speak entirely to the disparagement of Arkansas, because we shall find on the other hand that for every five thousand South Carolinians that went across to live in Arkansas, only two hundred and sixty-eight came up to live in Michigan. In other words, it has been a due west line of migration. If I were to seek out your ancestors, I might find somebody in the audience whose father came from Kentucky and whose grandfather came from Virginia. Or I might find somebody whose father came from Tennessee and his grandfather from South Carolina. But I should not count upon finding them; I should, on the contrary, expect to find here in Michigan a great many whose ancestors came from New York, having a grandfather from Connecticut or a great-grandfather from Massachusetts or New Hampshire.

It has been a due west movement. Straight across the continent we have marched on, and that

has been a most unfortunate thing in one way—most unfortunate—because it constantly tended to sectionalism. 1619 is a famous date in American history. That was the date on which the Pilgrim was finding his way across the Atlantic in the Mayflower, ultimately to land upon Plymouth Rock, the representative of freedom, of equality, of democracy. It was the same year in which the slave was first brought into Jamestown, to represent a system founded upon false economic principles. For two hundred years like hostile peoples, they advanced across the continent, each section convinced that it was right and that the other was wrong, and finally they came to the great rupture, the suicidal war; a war which decreased our population; a war which stopped for the time railroad building and western expansion; a war which decreased our patents for peace something like fifteen per cent and increased the patents applied to war something like thirty-five per cent; a war which piled up billions of dollars of national debt that we have never gotten rid of to the present day; a war which made many officers famous, but also made many widows and many orphans.

"Heroes who offer up their lives
On the country's fiery altar stone,
They do not offer themselves alone,
What is to become of the soldier's wives?
They stay at home in the little cot,
Some to weed the garden plot,
Others to ply the needle and thread,
For the soldier's children must be fed."

If we could only have brought some Southern people to live in the Northern States, and Northern people to live in the Southern States, we might have avoided the final appeal to the sword. But such it was to be, in God's providence. And after we got over the war, there came that fearful ordeal of Reconstruction, an ordeal which the Southern people to this day have never forgiven, and rightfully; an ordeal which saddled upon them enormous State debts; which put the negro in the saddle

for the time being; and which kept those misguided people prostrate until we came to the time when a president was elected from the state of Ohio, who had the moral courage, although he broke with his party, to withdraw the Federal troops from the South and thus to end the great regime of Reconstruction; to bring many years nearer the great era of peace and true conciliation. And when finally time has rectified our vision, when at last our minds have been cleared from prejudice, then, my friends, Rutherford B. Hayes will be given due credit. From that time on we have been cemented into the great union that you are living under and depending upon here this evening.

What at last is the idea of the whole American epic? What is the essence? In 1492 Christopher Columbus set sail upon the sea, voyaging boldly into the west, and it was just four hundred years when the work was complete. He brought the civilization to the eastern side of the continent. In 1898 Admiral Dewey completed the journey when he went into the Philippines, almost the very place that Columbus sailed to reach. Four hundred years had passed, and the civilization which Admiral Dewey carried with him on that expedition was infinitely higher, infinitely broader and infinitely better than the civilization which Christopher Columbus provided four hundred years before. Why? Because it meant a change from the arbitrary, absolute rule of Spain to the free government of the United States of America.

We are celebrating now the founding of Jamestown. The date is on the insignia of your order, 1607. It was just one hundred and seventy years after that event before civilization crossed the mountains and planted the first government south of the Ohio river; it was one hundred and eighty years before civilization crossed the mountains and planted the first settlement in the Territory north of the Ohio. But having once crossed the mountains, civilization required only thirty-six years to

bring in the first state, Missouri, beyond the Mississippi river; and after Missouri was brought in it took only thirty years more to cross the rest of the continent and bring California into the bond of states. The movement constantly increased in speed as we crossed the continent. Why? Because we had better methods of transportation, greater numbers of people and accumulated wealth, and because the French and the Spanish at last had been elbowed from the North American Continent.

I am aware that we are on historic ground here in Detroit. I am aware that first here came Cadillac bearing the lilies of France, as typified by this flag. I am aware that in 1760 there came the British flag, and that for a number of years, thirty years or more, the British flag floated over this region. And then I am aware also that in 1796 the British flag went down and these stars and stripes of the United States were raised over the City of the Straits, not to be lowered in God's providence, I hope, in all time to come. (Applause.) So here we are upon this historic ground of ours; and yet America has played a small part in the great onward movement of the world. I have tried to show that when we went into the Philippines it was the end and not the beginning of the modern western movement.

My mind runs back of that to the great movement of which we are one part, in which our patriots and pioneers have a place. In my imagination I go back to the great beginnings of the modern movement, away back to the valley of the Euphrates where were built Assyria and Babylonia. There for the first time modern ideas of government were evolved in a government which taught that man was created for the state and not the state for man. The next great step beyond that was in Greece when civilization so far advanced in form, in shape, in architecture, in art, as to contribute another element, the element of art, to the civilization which we have inherited at the present day. Then civilization advanced on to the west and developed the great

empire of Rome, which gave organization; organization to the church, organization to the army and organization to the state, but still considered man as made for the state. Then came the Saxons and the Angles, and the Jutes, free men in the woods along the Rhine, where one man was king of the tribe as long as his might made him king; and when another man arose more powerful in arms, he was chosen king, precisely as we choose a president by political strength in these United States. They brought to England the element of individuality, the element of individual freedom, individual right. The conception of democracy was developed in modern England to be transplanted to America. Here then we have the four great elements, and, my friends, we make the fifth. We form the fifth in America because here we have the civilization of the ancient Euphrates river, of Babylonia and Assyria. Here we have the art of the Greek. Here we have the organization of the Roman. Here we have the freedom of the Anglo-Saxon. And with these things in mind, the manner in which these problems have been worked out, the part played by our pioneers and patriots held in remembrance, we can appreciate what was meant by Bishop Berkeley when he said:

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

THE BOUNDARY LINES OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE TREATY OF 1782.

ADDRESS OF
MR. CLARENCE M. BURTON,
MAY 7, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

After the words that my classmate has said, I hardly know how to proceed.

I think it is not necessary to tell you that the foundation for the history of the Northwest Territory lies largely in the unpublished documents in the British Museum and the Public Record office in London. The American papers on the subject of the Treaty of 1782 at the close of the Revolutionary War, have been collected and printed by Mr. Sparks in twelve volumes of the diplomatic correspondence of the Revolution. They have recently, within the last few years, been re-printed and added to, in the Wharton collection. But the papers on the British side, with few exceptions, are still unpublished, and it is among those papers that I spent a good portion of my vacation while in the city of London. A few of them are in the British Museum, but nearly all are in the Public Record Office. I had some trouble in getting in there, but succeeded through the kindness of Mr. Carter, who represents our Government in London, and made as many extracts as I could pertaining exclusively to Detroit and the Northwest. While the collection there extends to every part of the United States, I was particularly interested in our own state, in our own part of the country. The time permitted me this evening is so short that I can only refer to a few of these papers, and I refer to them for the purpose of showing how it came about that Michigan became a part of the United States. That at first sight might seem very simple

to be determined, and yet I find it very difficult to answer, and I do not know now that I have found much that would lead to a complete determination of the reason for this form of our Treaty. The first papers that attracted my attention I found in the British Museum. They consisted of some correspondence in French between the British Government and the French Government relating to the troubles that had arisen along the Ohio river, and in that matter Detroit took a very active interest about the year 1754. These papers finally ended in a proposition on the part of Great Britain to accept as the north boundary line the river that we call the Maumee, on which Toledo is situated. The country immediately south of this to be neutral ground. This was in 1754. If that boundary line had been established; if that agreement had been accepted by the two countries, Michigan would have remained French Territory, and perhaps the war which immediately succeeded would not have taken place, and in all probability Canada would still have been a French possession. In the midst of these negotiations, they were terminated. I did not know at the time why, but I found in my searches a little book which I have now, evidently written by some member of the Privy Council, telling the reasons for breaking off the negotiations, and for causing the war which terminated in 1763.* At the end of the war, the treaty of Paris gave to Great Britain all of Canada, and Canada at that time was supposed to include all of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, all of the land north and west of the Ohio river. The same year that this treaty was entered into, Great Britian established the Province of Quebec. One of the peculiar matters connected with this establishment of the Province of Quebec I shall refer to hereafter. Quebec as established in 1763, was nearly a triangle. The south boundary line of the Province extended from Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence river near Lake St. Francis. Michigan

* This book is entitled, "The Conduct of the Ministry Impartially Examined," and was published in London in 1756.

and all of the lower part of Canada, and all of the Ohio district, were entirely omitted; so that by the proclamation of 1763, no portion of that country was under any form of government whatever. This was likely to lead to trouble with Great Britain and with the people in Detroit, for Detroit was the most prominent and important place in the whole of that district. Within a few years after the establishment of the Province of Quebec, a man by the name of Isenhart was murdered in Detroit by Michael Dué, a Frenchman. Dué was arrested, testimony was taken here before Philip Dejean, our justice, and after his guilt was established, Dué was sent to Quebec for trial and execution. After he was convicted they sent him back to Montreal, so that he could be executed among his friends. The matter was brought before the Privy Council to determine under what law and by what right Dué was tried at all. They executed the poor fellow, and then made the inquiry afterwards. It was finally decided that they could try him under a special provision in the Mutiny Act, but they had to acknowledge that at that time they absolutely had no control, by law, over our portion of the Northwest Territory, and that the land where we are was subject to the king exclusively, and was not under any military authority except as he directed it. In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed, and by that act the boundary lines of the Province of Quebec were so enlarged as to include all of the Ohio country and all the land north of the Ohio river; so that from 1774 until the close of the Revolutionary War, Canada and the Province of Quebec included all of the land on which we are situated as well as the present Canada, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Now, when we come to the treaty of peace, or the preliminary treaty of peace in 1782, the first thing that I found of interest was the fact that Franklin, who was then in Paris, was quite anxious that some effort should be made to close up the war. There never has been a moment from the

time the war first started that efforts were not being made along some line to bring it to a conclusion, but it was the efforts of Mr. Franklin in the spring of 1782 that finally brought the parties together. The man who acted at that time for the British Government was Richard Oswald. He was sent from London to Paris to represent his government, and to see if something could not be done with Mr. Franklin to negotiate a treaty. Those of you who have been in Paris will recollect that the house in which Mr. Franklin lived while there was not then within the city limits. It was in Passy, a little village some three or four miles distant, but now within the city limits. The place is now marked by a tablet a little above the heads of the passersby, on Singer Street, indicating that Franklin lived there during the time of which I am speaking, 1782, and some time later. He was sick. He was unable at various times to leave his apartments at all, and much of the negotiations took place in his private rooms on Singer Street in Passy.

As I said before, the proceedings on the part of the American Commissioners have all been published, but Mr. Oswald kept minutes of his own, and these, with a few exceptions, have not been printed. These and the papers that are connected with them, I had the pleasure of examining and abstracting, if I may use that term, during the past winter. I find that on April 25, 1782, Mr. Richard Oswald returned to Paris, and that place was named as the city for settling up the affairs of the Revolutionary War, if it was possible, with Dr. Franklin. The principal point was the allowance of the independence of the United States, upon the restoration of Great Britian to the situation in which she was placed before the Treaty of 1763. Of course you will see that the question that came before the commissioners at once was as to what constituted Canada, or what constituted the Province of Quebec. I think that Great Britain made a blunder, and a serious blunder for herself, in establishing the Province of Quebec within the restricted lines of

Lake Nipissing, and the reason of her making this line I believe was this. She had once before taken Canada from the French, and then restored it. She did not know but what she might again be called upon to restore Canada to France. But if she had to restore it, she proposed to restore only that portion of it that she considered to be Canada, that is the land lying north and east of the line from Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence river. She would maintain, if the time again came to surrender Canada to France, that all the land lying below that line was her own possession, and not a part of the land that she had taken from France. Now she found that in order to be restored to the situation she occupied before 1763, she must abandon the land lying below that line, and thereafter it would become part of the United States. So that one of the principal features of this new treaty was to be the restoration of Great Britain to the situation that was occupied by her before the Treaty of 1763.

The peculiar formation of the lines that marked the province of Quebec in the proclamation of 1763 attracted my attention, and I undertook to study out the reason for so shaping the province, and some years ago wrote out the reason that I have outlined tonight. I did not know then that there were documents in existence to prove the truth of my theory.

In July, 1763, Lord Egremont, Secretary of State, reported to the Lord of Trade that the King approved of the formation of the new government of Canada, but that the limits had not been defined. The King thought that great inconvenience might arise if a large tract of land was left without being subject to the jurisdiction of some Governor and that it would be difficult to bring criminals and fugitives, who might take refuge in this country, to justice. He therefore thought it best to include in the commission for the Governor of Canada, jurisdiction of all the great lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior, with all of the country as far north and west as the limits of the Hudson Bay Company and the Mississippi, and all

lands ceded by the late treaty, unless the Lords of Trade should suggest a better distribution.

On the 5th of August the Lords of Trade submitted their plan for the Government of Quebec, a portion of which I will read, as follows:

"We are apprehensive that, should this country be annexed to the Government of Canada, a colour might be taken on some future occasion, for supposing that your Majesty's title to it had taken its rise singly from the cessions made by France in the late treaty, whereas your Majesty's titles to the lakes and circumjacent territory, as well as sovereignty over the Indian tribes, particularly of the Six Nations, rests on a more solid and even a more equitable foundation; and perhaps nothing is more necessary than that just impressions on this subject should be carefully preserved in the minds of the savages, whose ideas might be blended and confounded if they should be brought to consider themselves under the government of Canada."

Conformable to the report of the Lords of Trade, the King, on September 19th, said that he was pleased to lay aside the idea of including within the government of Canada, or any established colony, the lands that were reserved for the use of the Indians.

He directed that the commission to be issued to James Murray comprehend that part of Canada lying on the north side of the St. Lawrence river which was included within the Province of Quebec.

The commission to James Murray as Captain-General and Governor of the Province of Quebec, which was issued November 14, 1763, bounded the province on the south by a line drawn from the south end of Lake Nipissing to a point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude crosses the St. Lawrence river—the westerly end of Lake St. Francis.

In settling the line of the United States in 1782, it was very convenient for our commissioners to claim that the Lake Nipissing line was the northern boundary of the new government, for it gave to

England all the lands she claimed to have won by the contest with France, and this line Great Britain could not well dispute.

I found here a letter from Governor Haldimand, and it is interesting just at this point, because it gives his idea of the American Army.

"It is not the number of troops that Mr. Washington can spare from his army that is to be apprehended; it is their multitude of militia and men in arms ready to turn out at an hour's notice upon the show of a single regiment of Continental troops that will oppose the attempt, the facility of which has been fatally experienced." So Haldimand was writing to the home office that they must have peace because they could not contend against the militia of the United States.

In the various interviews that Mr. Oswald reports, he says that Franklin and Laurens maintained that Canada, Nova Scotia, East Florida, Newfoundland and the West India Islands should still remain British colonies in the event of peace. Mr. Oswald reported that in all the conversations on this subject, no inclination was ever shown by the Americans to dispute the right of Great Britain to these colonies, and he adds, "Which, I own, I was very much surprised at, and had I been an American, acting in the same character as those commissioners, I should have held a different language to those of Great Britain, and would have plainly told them that for the sake of future peace of America, they must entirely quit possession of every part of that continent, so as the whole might be brought under the cover of one and the same political constitution, and so must include under the head of independence, to make it real and complete, all Nova Scotia, Canada, Newfoundland and East Florida. That this must have been granted if insisted upon, I think is past all doubt, considering the present unhappy situation of things."

Well, he did not understand Mr. Franklin, because Franklin was sitting there day after day, doing a great deal of thinking and letting Mr.

Oswald do the talking, and when it came to the time for Mr. Franklin to give forth his own ideas, they were very different from what Mr. Oswald thought they were. Franklin told Oswald on July 8th that there could be no solid peace while Canada remained an English possession. That was the first statement that Franklin made regarding his ideas of where the boundary line ought to be. A few days after this, the first draft of the treaty was made, and it was sent to London on July 10th, 1782. The third article requires that the boundaries of Canada be confined to the lines given in the Quebec Act of 1774, "or even to a more contracted state." An additional number of articles were to be considered as advisable, the fourth one being the giving up by Great Britain of every part of Canada. Oswald had formerly suggested that the back lands of Canada—that is the Ohio lands—be set apart and sold for the benefit of the loyal sufferers; but now Franklin insisted that these back lands be ceded to the United States without any stipulation whatever as to their disposal. Many of the states had confiscated the lands and property of the loyalists, and there was an effort on the part of Oswald to get our new government to recognize these confiscations and repay them, or to sell the lands in the Ohio country and pay the loyalists from the sale of those lands. A set of instructions to Oswald was made on July 31st and sent over, but the article referring to this matter was afterwards stricken out, so that it does not appear in any of the printed proceedings. The portion that was stricken out reads as follows: "You will endeavor to make use of our reserve title to those ungranted lands which lie to the westward of the boundaries of the provinces as defined in the proclamations before mentioned in 1763, and to stipulate for the annexation of a portion of them to each province in lieu of what they shall restore to the refugees and loyalists, whose estates they have seized or confiscated."

But Franklin refused to acknowledge any of those debts. He said that if any loyalists had suffered,

they had suffered because they had been the ones who had instigated the war, and they must not be repaid, and he would not permit them to be repaid out of any lands that belonged to the United States; that if Great Britain herself wanted to repay them, he had no objection. In a conversation John Jay, who came from Spain and took part in these negotiations, told the British Commissioner that England had taken great advantage of France in 1763 in taking Canada from her and he did not propose that England should serve the United States in the same manner, and he, Jay, was not as favorable to peace as was Franklin.

On the 18th of August, a few days later, Oswald wrote: "The Commissioners here insist on their independence, and consequently on a cession of the whole territory, and the misfortune is that their demand must be complied with in order to avoid the worst consequences, either respecting them in particular, or the object of general pacification with the foreign states, as to which nothing can be done until the American independence is effected." He recites the situation in America; the garrisons of British troops at the mercy of the Americans, the situation of the loyalists, and the evacuations then taking place. In all these negotiations, there was a constant determination taken by Franklin to hold the territory in the west and on the north.

In the last of August, 1782, the commissioners set about determining the boundary lines for the new government, which they fixed in the draft of the treaty so as to include in the United States that part of Canada which was added to it by act of parliament of 1774. "If this is not granted there will be a good deal of difficulty in settling these boundaries between Canada and several of the states, especially on the western frontier, as the addition sweeps around behind them, and I make no doubt that a refusal would occasion a particular grudge, as a deprivation of an extent of valuable territory, the several provinces have always counted upon as their own, and only waiting to be settled

and taken into their respective governments, according as their population increased and encouraged a further extension westward. I therefore suppose this demand will be granted, upon certain conditions." It seems that in the preceding April, Franklin had proposed that the back lands of Canada should be entirely given up to the United States, and that Great Britain should grant a sum of money to repay the losses of the sufferers in the war. He had also proposed that certain unsold lands in America should be disposed of for the benefit of the sufferers on both sides.* Franklin had withdrawn this proposal and now refused to consent to it, although strongly urged by Oswald, who wrote, "I am afraid it will not be possible to bring him (Franklin) back to the proposition made in April last, though I shall try."

The preliminary articles of peace were agreed upon by Oswald and Franklin and Jay, October 7, 1782, and the northern boundary line of the United States extends from the east, westerly on the 45th degree of north latitude until the St. Lawrence river was reached, then to the easterly end of Lake Nipissing, and then straight to the source of the Mississippi. If you will remember that Lake Nipissing is opposite the northern end of Georgian Bay, you will see that the line as laid down in this draft of the treaty would include within the United States all of the territory that is across the river from Detroit, all of the southerly portion of what formerly constituted Upper Canada. Mr. Franklin at this time wrote: "They want to bring their boundaries down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbors."

Mr. Franklin at this time was seventy-eight years of age, a very old man to put in such a responsible place. In October, Henry Strachey was sent over to assist Mr. Oswald, and in some ways I think Mr. Strachey was a sharper, brighter man than Mr.

*These unsold lands were those claimed as Crown lands in New York and elsewhere, considered as the private property of the Crown.

Oswald was, although Mr. Oswald was probably a very good man for the position. I think, however, that diplomatically, the representatives of the United States were the greater men. Henry Strachey was sent over to assist Oswald and particularly to aid him in fixing the boundary lines. The matter was thought to be of too great importance for one man and Lord Townshend, in introducing Strachey to Oswald, told him that Strachey would share the responsibility of fixing the boundaries, which was great, with him.

If any of you have ever had occasion to read the treaties of 1782 and 1783 carefully, you will find that in outlining the boundary line, one line was omitted. The draft that I found of this treaty I think is in the handwriting of John Jay, and certainly Mr. Jay as a lawyer ought to have been sufficiently conversant with real estate transfers to have drawn a proper deed; but one line is omitted, and that is the line extending from the south end of the St. Mary's river to Lake Superior, and that omission has been copied in every copy of the treaty that has since been made, so far as I have been able to ascertain. The map that was used on the occasion was a large wall map of Mitchell, printed some years previous to 1783. I got the original map that was used on that occasion, and on that I found a large, heavy red line drawn straight across the country from Lake Nipissing to near Lake St. Francis, and then along the St. Lawrence river, and westward from Lake Nipissing to the Mississippi. That was one line. The other line running as we now know the boundary, through the center of the lakes. This map I hunted for for several days, but finally found it in the public record office in Chancery Lane.

On November 5th, 1782, the commissioners nearly broke off all negotiations from quarreling about the boundary lines, and were about to quit when they concluded to try it once more, and went at it. A new draft of the treaty was made November 8th, on which the north boundary line was fixed

at the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. That would run straight across the country through Alpena. If that line had been accepted, and it came very near being accepted at one time, the entire northern peninsula of Michigan, and all the land in the southern peninsula north of Alpena would have been British possessions, while the land across the river from us here at Detroit would have been part of the United States. When this draft was sent over to England, an alternative line was sent over with it, and the alternative line was the line that we know as the boundary line, along the lakes. In sending over this proposition, Strachey said that the draft of the treaty must be prepared in London, and the expressions contained in the treaty made as tight as possible, "for these Americans are the greatest quibblers I ever knew." The above draft of the treaty was handed to Richard Jackson, and he remarked on its margin, that it looked more like an ultimatum than a treaty, and in a letter of November 12th, 1782, he wrote, "I am, however, free to say that so far as my judgment goes and ought to weigh, I am of opinion in the cruel, almost hopeless, situation of this country, a treaty of peace ought to be made on the terms offered."

On November 11th, 1782, at eleven o'clock at night, Strachey writes that the terms of the treaty of peace have finally been agreed upon. "Now we are to be hanged or applauded for thus rescuing you from the American war. I am half dead with perpetual anxiety, and shall not be at ease till I see how the great men receive me. If this is not as good a peace as was expected, I am confident that it is the best that could have been made." A few days later he writes, "The treaty is signed and sealed, and is now sent. God forbid that I should ever have a hand in another treaty." The final treaty of peace was signed at that time, and a few days later, on the 30th of January, 1783, the treaty of peace on which it depended, that is the treaty between the other governments of Europe and England, was signed and the war was at an end.

U.S. B
(Burton

Historical Memoranda

OF THE

Territory of Michigan.

THE earliest period at which, from authentic data, we are able to fix the first settlement of any importance by white people in this territory is the year 1683[1]; at this period the French Government in Canada, in pursuance of their policy of gaining an ascendancy over the Indian tribes, thereby to secure to themselves the benefits of the fur trade, to the exclusion of the colonies of New York and New England, as well as the alliance of the Indians in their wars with these colonies, had extended their settlements to Detroit and Michilimackinac. From this period, merged in the history of Canada, and possessing no individuality of character, it remained under a colonial military government until after the capitulation of Quebec, in the year 1759, and of Montreal in the year 1760, when Detroit and Michilimackinac were surrendered by the governor of Canada to his Britannic majesty,

(1) This part of the country (Detroit) was visited by white men as early as 1649, and there were a number of Jesuit missions established in the neighborhood, but not exactly at the location of Detroit, as early as 1655. The post of Detroit was founded by Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac July 24, 1701.

and were immediately garrisoned by English troops.[2]

The civil chief magistracy of the country was then vested in a military commandant, under the governor of Canada.

Although Great Britain, by the success of her arms, had obtained the whole of the French possessions in Canada, the Indians within its limits were by no means satisfied with the change—they still retained that predilection for the French which it had been the policy of that government and of the Jesuit priests to inspire. Consequently, in 1763, a confederation of the Hurons, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies and the Messaugies, with, perhaps, some other tribes, was formed to act against the British posts. The Indians, under the command of Pontiac, a celebrated chief of the Miamis, surprised and took Michilimackinac by one of those stratagems which so peculiarly distinguish the savage character, but, contrary to the custom of the Indians, few, if any, lives were taken on this occasion, and the garrison and traders were sent to Montreal.

Emboldened by this success, Pontiac with his army proceeded to Detroit, in force about 3,000 strong. Having succeeded so well in his former stratagem, he determined to capture Detroit by similar means. He approached the town under pretense of trade and, "to brighten the chain of Peace," proposed a council. He selected a number of the most daring of his followers to accompany him to the fort, in which the pretended council was to be

(2) Detroit was surrendered by the last French commandant, Picote de Belestre, to the New England scout and ranger, Major Robert Rogers, in the fall of 1760.

held, having sawed off their guns sufficiently short to be concealed under their blankets. It was arranged that at a given signal they were to fire upon the officers, let in their companions, and commence a general massacre. The execution of this daring plan was, however, prevented by an Indian woman, who communicated it to Major Gladwin, the commanding officer. The Indians went to the council according to the plan preconcerted, but from the disposition made by the commanding officer to receive them they were diverted from attempting to execute their design, and the commanding officer, having openly charged them with their treachery, permitted them to retire unmolested. Ungrateful for this ill-judged magnanimity, they soon after invested the place, and a siege was continued, with occasional skirmishes, for more than a year.

Of these skirmishes, the most disastrous to the British was the defeat of Captain Dalyell, at a place since called Bloody Bridge, about two miles above Detroit. The party of Captain Dalyell consisted of 200, of which a great proportion, including himself, fell victims to the savages. Thus reduced, it was with great difficulty the commanding officer continued to maintain the place until he was relieved by a British schooner, with a reinforcement and supplies. This vessel had narrowly escaped capture, having been attacked and boarded by a large number of Indians, who surrounded her in canoes opposite the head of an island, since called Fighting Island. Her escape from capture was owing to some one on board calling out to set fire to the magazine; this having been communicated to the Indians

by a Frenchman of their party, they left the vessel with precipitation.

Soon after this the Indians raised the siege and separated.

A short time after this period, difficulties between Great Britain and her colonies began to arise, and led to the war which broke out in 1775. During this struggle, and before its commencement, strong appeals had been made to the people of Canada by the other colonies to induce them to join in the cause of liberty, but without effect. This is probably to be accounted for in the difference of their relative laws and government. The people of the colonies, particularly of New England, having fled from oppression in the old world, were, from their first emigration into the new, particularly jealous of civil liberty, and could not but be disposed to resist with indignation any attempt to tax them without their consent. On the contrary, Canada from its first colonization appears to have been governed by a military commandant—hence, the people knew little of the benefits, and relished still less the trouble, of self-government.

From the commencement to the close of the revolutionary war, little of interest is presented to the notice of the historian. Remote from the scenes of action, and separated by an immense wilderness, the people of this territory had probably little direct agency in the affairs of the revolutionary war, and from its close, in 1782,[3] the British continued to hold the territory, together with several posts on the American side of the lakes, until 1796, when, in pursuance of Jay's treaty, this country was delivered

(3) Hostilities ceased under the preliminary treaty of peace in 1782, but the final treaty was not signed until a year later.

up to the United States. But previous to this, wars had been carried on with the Indian tribes with various success, during which occurred the defeat of Colonel Crawford, at Upper Sandusky, in 1789[4]; of General Harmar, on the Scioto, in 1791, and of General St. Clair, in the latter part of the same year,[5] near Fort Jefferson.

The Indians, emboldened by these frequent advantages, began to increase their depredations and incursions upon the frontier settlements on the Ohio, and began to assume so serious an aspect that Congress raised a force of five thousand men, and General Wayne was appointed commander-in-chief, in room of St. Clair, who had resigned. While preparations were making, attempts at negotiation were renewed, and Colonel Harden and Major Freeman were sent into the Indian country with proposals for peace; they failed, and both were inhumanly murdered by the Indians. At length, on the 8th of August, 1794, General Wayne with his army reached the confluence of the Miami and Auglaize, where he halted and threw up some works of defense, being about thirty miles from the British post on the Miami of the lakes, in the vicinity of which the Indians were collected to the number of about 2,000. The legion commanded by Wayne was at this time of about equal force, exclusive of 1,100 mounted men from Kentucky, under General Scott. From the 14th to the 20th of August, General Wayne cautiously advanced down the Miami, and on the latter day a general and decisive action took

(4) Col. William Crawford was captured by the Indians and burned to death June 11, 1782.

(5) Gen. Harmar was defeated near the villages of the Miamis Oct. 19 and 22, 1790, and Gen. St. Clair was defeated Nov. 4, 1791.

place. The Indians were posted behind trees, and the General directed his legion to advance with trailed arms, and with their bayonets to drive the enemy from their shelter, and then deliver their fire. So rapid was the charge and so entirely were the enemy broken, that in the course of one hour they were driven more than two miles. The General pursued them, burnt their houses, and laid waste their cornfields within pistol shot of the British fort. The victory had so decisive an effect that General Wayne was enabled to conclude a treaty with the hostile Indians at Greenville, on the 3d of August, 1795, and soon after the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac[6] were delivered to the Americans.

Immediately after the surrender of these posts, in 1796, this territory fell under the government and formed a part of the territory northwest of the Ohio. After the admission of Ohio into the Union as an independent State, this territory and Indiana became the North-Western Territory,[7] until they were separated and formed two distinct territories, in 1805, this by the name and title of the Territory of Michigan, over which William Hull was appointed governor, and Detroit became the seat of government.

Nothing of importance occurs in the history of this territory until after the commencement of the war with Great Britain, in June, 1812. General Hull having been appointed a brigadier-general in May, left the City of Washington for Detroit, with orders from the War Department anticipating the declaration of war. He was clothed with discretionary

(6) Now called Mackinac

(7) Called Indiana Territory. The name "North West Territory" ceased on the admission of Ohio in 1802.

powers to commence operations in Canada as soon as the declaration of war should reach him, if, in his opinion, his force would warrant him. On his route through Ohio he was joined by three regiments, who had enrolled themselves under the proclamation of the President; they were commanded by Colonels McArthur, Cass and Finlay. On his arrival with his army at the Miami of the Lake, he dispatched his hospital stores and the baggage of the officers on board a schooner for Detroit, but the enemy having had information of the declaration of war, the vessel with the property was captured at Malden.[8]

On the 12th of July, General Hull having made the preliminary preparations passed over into Canada, and established his headquarters at Sandwich, and on the same day issued his famous proclamation, in which he announced his force to be the vanguard of a much greater, and invited the Canadians to join his standard, or remain quiet, assuring them of protection. At this time the enemy's force at Malden was very diminutive and their works of defense in a weak and unfinished state. Had General Hull advanced immediately upon Malden, it is believed he would have met with very little opposition; on the contrary, by his vacillating policy and the *petit guerre* which he carried on, so little comporting with the high ground he had taken in his proclamation, and so far short of the prompt and decisive movements which were expected from so respectable a force, that the enemy, after their first alarm had subsided, began to gather confidence,

(8) The little boat was called the Cuyahoga.

which, as the character of General Hull was gradually developed, continued to increase.

The army lay inactive from the 12th of July to the 8th of August, nothing having been attempted but to send out small detachments to reconnoitre the enemy and secure the passage of the bridge aux Canard, a few miles above Malden on the road to that place. On one of these expeditions, commanded by Colonel Cass, the guard at the bridge were surprised, and with difficulty effected their retreat. The capture of the bridge secured a passage to Malden. Nothing, however, seems to have been further from the mind of the General than to have availed himself of this opportunity of advancing and he appeared to be waiting for a plausible pretext to retreat back to Detroit; and a pretext was not long wanted. Lieutenant Hanks,[9] a brave and intelligent officer, had been entrusted with the command of Michilimackinac, but, owing to the unpardonable negligence or treachery of those whose duty it was to have forwarded the information, was not, until the 9th of July, informed that the United States were at war with England; and was then only informed of it by finding himself closely invested by a body of British regulars, Canadian militia and Indians, amounting to 1,000 men, under Captain Roberts, who had seized on an eminence and erected a battery in the night, which would have completely raked the parade ground within the fort. Under such circumstances, he found himself compelled to capitulate, and the garrison, amounting to 57, including officers, surrendered prisoners of war.

(9) Lieut. Porter Hanks was killed on the morning of Aug. 16, 1812, by the bursting of a shell in the Fort at Detroit just before the surrender.

On the 8th of August, General Hull determined to return to Detroit. When this was announced to the army it was received with universal surprise and disgust. The volunteers who had so early enrolled themselves under the banner of their country from motives of purest patriotism—who had left their homes (many of them of ease and affluence) to encounter the toils and privations of a long and tedious march through a wilderness country, supported by the hope that they should immediately be led to meet the enemies of their country, could scarcely restrain their indignant feelings within the limits of subordination.

Soon after General Hull entered Canada he received information of the near approach of a quantity of provisions under the escort of Captain Brush,[10] of Ohio, and that a number of Indians had crossed from Malden with a design of cutting off the escort. On this he detached Major Vanhorn with 200 men to protect the convoy. This detachment was surprised near Brownstown, and having received a severe fire, in which fifteen were killed, retreated back to Detroit. Intelligence of this disaster having been communicated to the General, he immediately detached Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the Fourth Regiment, with 600 men, consisting of regular infantry, one company of artillery and a detachment of Ohio and Michigan volunteers, with orders to proceed to the River Raisin and meet the provisions and troops, and open communication to Detroit.

On the 9th of August, about the middle of the afternoon, a few miles above Brownstown, Colonel

[10] Capt. Henry Brush was a native of Hull, Bru[illegible] eminent citizen of Detroit and an officer in the militia.

Miller encountered a large force of British and Indians, who had posted themselves securely behind a thicket of woods and a breastwork of logs. Captain Snelling, who commanded the vanguard, received the first fire of the enemy, and, though his command suffered severely, they maintained their ground until supported by Colonel Miller with his whole force. The Colonel having formed his line, advanced to within a few paces of the enemy, gave his fire and then charged with the bayonet; the enemy gave ground and fled to Brownstown, keeping up a fire on their retreat, but they were pursued until night put an end to the action. The British regular force was about 400, their whole force about 1,000. Colonel Miller was compelled to forego the advantages resulting from this victory, in consequence of his being destitute of provisions, which General Hull had assured him would be forwarded after and overtake him on his march, but which was neglected, and he returned to Detroit.

A few days after this Colonels McArthur and Cass were detached on different routes to meet the troops at the River Raisin, which consisted of the companies commanded by Captain Brush and Captain Rowland, a part of Captain Campbell's company of volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Day, a small detachment of Colonel Cass' regiment under Lieutenant Davidson, which had been left at a block house at Miami, and a few regular soldiers of the Fourth Regiment, in all about 250. These troops, with all the ardor which distinguished the times, were burning with impatience to join General Hull's army, and only waited his orders to advance and attempt a passage through.

At length, on the 15th of August, the enemy, consisting of regulars, Canadians and Indians, amounting to about 1,000 men, under the command of General Brock, commenced movements which indicated an intention to cross the strait opposite Springwells. At this time General Hull was urged to plant a battery at that commanding eminence, which, from its advantageous situation, would, had it been well supported with infantry, have cut the enemy to pieces before they could have made good their landing. This course, the propriety of which was so obvious to all, was unaccountably neglected by the General, as some vainly persuaded themselves, with a design to let the enemy place themselves more effectually in his power; for, even after the enemy had, unopposed, effected their landing, they must have been either captured or destroyed had General Hull permitted his troops to have fought, for, whilst General Brock was marching his column along the road to Detroit, which was narrow, the river running on his right and a line of palisade fence on the left, several field pieces, charged with grape and canister, were placed in a position to have completely enfiladed his column in front. The men were ready at the guns with their matches burning, and eagerly waiting the signal to fire; at the same moment the infantry were out under arms, and could in a moment have wheeled to attack them in flank, whilst the detachment of Colonel Cass, then on its return, would have assailed them in rear. Under such circumstances, it is rational to suppose that nothing less than a miracle could have saved the British army from capture or destruction. At such a moment, when the arm of the patriot was nerved for

contest, when the enemy which he had so long and so eagerly sought was before him, under circumstances so favorable, and he exulted in the hope of a proud triumph for his country, with what agonized sensations did he behold a white flag flying over the Star-Spangled Banner. The General, as Colonel Cass observed in his letter to the War Department, must have taken counsel of his own feelings alone, as no one anticipated a surrender: even the women were indignant at so shameful a degradation of the American character. The volunteers were paroled and sent to their homes, and the regulars were sent to Quebec.

The General in his articles of capitulation included the troops and public property at River Raisin, and Captain Elliot was despatched with an escort of Indians to that place, bearing a copy of the articles of capitulation. As soon as information was communicated to that garrison that a British officer, accompanied by Indians and bearing a flag, was approaching, a short council was held, the result of which was a conviction in the minds of the officers that it was a stratagem on the part of the Indians to capture the garrison and get possession of the supplies designed for General Hull. It was believed that the Indians were hovering round in force to take advantage of circumstances, and it was not thought advisable to suffer the flag to approach the place. Captain Rowland, therefore, volunteered with a small detachment to meet them some distance from the garrison. On approaching, Captain Elliot, the bearer of the flag presented the articles of capitulation. The circumstances appeared so improbable that Captain Rowland was the more con-

firmed in his first impressions that it was a stratagem. He therefore disarmed the party, and blindfolded and conducted them into the fort. In the evening of the same day, which was the 17th, some stragglers of our army, who had escaped from Detroit, arrived and brought a full confirmation of the painful and disgraceful fact. The same night a council was held, in which it was determined immediately to commence a retreat to the State of Ohio, which, after encountering innumerable difficulties, was safely effected.

On hearing the news of the surrender of Detroit, the States of Kentucky and Ohio and the western parts of the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania flew to arms. A considerable force was collected at Urbana, under General Tupper, and in September a brigade of Pennsylvania and one of Virginia militia were on the march to join General Harrison, who had been appointed a major general, and was at Piqua, preparing to march an army to recover the country which had been surrendered. Owing to the delays which attended the transportation of cannon from Pittsburg (in the fall of the season and over newly cut roads), it was the latter part of December before General Harrison was able to concentrate the right division of his army at Upper Sandusky. The left division, consisting of the Kentucky militia and a few regulars, under the command of General Winchester, having learned that there was a quantity of forage at the River Raisin, of which the army, owing to the remoteness of their depots and the difficulties of transportation, were greatly in want, detached Colonel Lewis on the 18th of January, who attacked and defeated a body of

Indians at that place. On the next day the General, with the greater part of his division, which united amounted to about 1,000 men, moved on to the River Raisin, where he encamped until the 22d. In the interim he was informed that a large body of British and Indians were advancing from Malden[1] and Detroit to attack him. It does not, however, appear that the General placed any reliance on this information, as no measures were taken to fortify his camp or otherwise guard against such an event. His army was encamped in a line parallel with the river, which ran a short distance in his rear. His left, under the command of Major Madison, was posted behind a fence of palisades. His right wing was unprotected, it would seem, from choice, as the same protection was accessible to it as the left had obtained. At the dawn of day on the 22d the left wing was attacked. The troops of this wing being in a great measure protected from small arms, fought with confidence, and gave their fire with deliberation and effect, insomuch that the enemy suffered severely. They made several charges, and were as often foiled and driven back with loss, and it was with the greatest difficulty the officers of the enemy could induce their men to keep their ground. At length they drew off from the left wing and concentrated their whole force upon the right, which, being unprotected, soon gave way. It is said that an order was given by the General to retreat, with a view of taking a position under the protection of the bank, in rear. The result, however, was most disastrous, for the savages, who until this moment had kept aloof, now pressed upon their retiring steps

[1] The fort at Amherstburg was called Fort Malden

with hideous yells and all the terrific accompaniments of savage war. Under such circumstances, the utmost exertions of the officers to rally the men were in vain. Then commenced a scene the most shocking to humanity, and which beggars all description. The savages having kept a little aloof with a view to separate them the more effectually from their companions on the left, and not too suddenly to check their hopes of safety in flight, now gradually closed in upon them, and deliberately commenced the work of slaughter. So effectually did this plan succeed that, of the whole number who attempted it, not more than three or four made good their retreat to the Rapids. The left wing still kept their ground and maintained the action, although by the destruction of the right the enemy were enabled to turn their flank and rear.

In this critical situation, having been summoned repeatedly to surrender, at length, at the solicitation of General Winchester, who had been captured, Major Madison consented to capitulate, on condition of being protected from the savages, of retaining their private property, and the officers their side arms. On these terms this ill-fated division, amounting to four hundred and fifty, surrendered to the enemy. General Proctor, on being reminded by General Winchester of his engagements, reiterated his assurance that the wounded should the next day be carefully conveyed in sleighs to Malden. So ill did he keep his faith that on the next day the wounded who were unable to walk were inhumanly butchered in cold blood by the savages. Amongst the number was Captain Hart, a man highly esteemed as an officer and a gentleman.

General Harrison, soon after this disaster, determined to fortify and take up his winter quarters and await reinforcements. On the 1st of May the enemy made an attack upon his position, which was continued until the 5th, when General Harrison was informed of the near approach of General Clay with reinforcements of Kentucky militia of 1,200 men. He sent orders to General Clay to detach 800 of his men to storm the enemy's batteries on the opposite side and spike the cannon. This service was performed with great gallantry; but, not content with doing all they were ordered to do, they pursued the retreating enemy until they were led into an ambuscade, and the whole detachment except 150 men were killed or taken. At the same time a sortie was made by Colonel Miller against a battery that had been erected near the Fort on the same side of the river, which from its commanding situation greatly annoyed the troops. Colonel Miller succeeded in driving the enemy from their battery, spiked their cannon and returned with 42 prisoners.

In August General Harrison, having been reinforced by the 26th, 27th and 28th Regiments, which in the course of the summer had been raised in Ohio and Kentucky, was encamped at Seneca, waiting the operations on Lake Erie.

On the 10th of September the American fleet found the enemy's, gave battle, and by the gallantry of Commodore Perry and the officers and men of his fleet a signal victory was obtained.

On the 23d of September, 1813, General Harrison landed his army near Malden, which he found evacuated by the enemy and their fort and shipyard and other public buildings consumed. General

Proctor, with such of the inhabitants and Indians as still adhered to him, retreated towards York by the route of the River Thames. Owing to the contractor having no means of transportation, few provisions could be obtained, and General Harrison, that he might be unencumbered with baggage, which, in consequence of the deficiency of transports, would have delayed the landing of the troops, had directed the tents and knapsacks to be left at Put-in-Bay, so that the troops were not only nearly destitute of provisions, but entirely so of camp equipage. Under these circumstances, a question arose on the expediency of pursuing the enemy, particularly when to those difficulties was added the improbability, if not impossibility, of overtaking Proctor, who had left Sandwich on the 20th of September. But the zeal of the troops overcame all these difficulties, and on the 2d of October General Harrison took up his line of march in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 5th overtook, routed and captured them near the Moravian town. Before the fate of the day was decided General Proctor with his staff effected their retreat.

In this action fell the celebrated chief, Tecumseh. He is represented to have been no less distinguished for his humanity and generosity than for his bravery and devotedness to the cause he had espoused. Though identified with the savages by birth and education, and through life our most determined enemy, yet the brave man will hail him as a brother, and shed the tear of sympathy for his fate. Six hundred British regulars were taken in this action, and all their baggage and camp equipage. General Harrison soon after returned to De-

troit. The result of this campaign was that all the territory surrendered in 1812 was recovered, except the post of Michilimackinac.

General Harrison having entered into treaties with the neighboring tribes of Indians who came forward and made their submissions, moved with a part of his army to the Niagara frontier, and the command of this division was given to General Cass. The barracks which had been burned by the enemy were partially rebuilt, and Malden was occupied by a detachment of United States troops. During the succeeding winter little of moment occurred in the quarter. A violent epidemic disease prevailed among the troops, and no hostile operations were carried on against the enemy, except occasional reconnoitering parties, the most considerable of which was a detachment of 300 men under Major Holmes, who penetrated to within a short distance of Oxford. He was attacked in his encampment, which he had secured by a temporary breastwork, by a superior force of British regulars and Canadian militia. Major Holmes obtained a decisive victory; the regulars were nearly all killed or wounded; one officer was taken, and near fifty men left dead on the ground, while the loss of Major Holmes was only one killed and two wounded. This affair occurred on the 4th of March, at a place called Stony Creek.

In the month of July, 1814, an expedition was planned and fitted out to Michilimackinac, the command of which was given to Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, who had distinguished himself by his gallant defense of Fort Stephenson, or Sandusky, in 1813. The naval force was commanded by Capt.

Sinclair. In this affair Colonel Croghan did not support the reputation he had previously acquired. Instead of sailing directly to the island of Michilimackinac, and thereby surprising the enemy before he had time to strengthen himself by fortifying and collecting the Indians from the mainland, the fleet showed itself some days before the island, and sent an expedition up the Sault of St. Mary's.

In the meantime Colonel McDowell, the British commandant, was vigorously employed in preparing to receive an attack. It is likewise thought that Colonel Croghan's plan of attack, and particularly the place selected to make his landing, were injudiciously chosen; for, by landing on the back part of the island he had several miles to traverse, over a rocky, rough country, with a thick growth of brushwood, which, being filled with Indians, could from their concealment kill his men at their leisure without exposing themselves. It would have been morally impossible (as it turned out) for him to have reached the fort; and, could he have effected this, he would in all probability have been so crippled and his men so disheartened as to have extinguished all desire for storming the works. On the contrary, it is believed that had he sailed directly to the island, and effected a landing under the guns of the fort, his loss would not have exceeded the actual loss sustained in the partial encounter with the Indians, in which nothing was gained but mortification and disappointment. In this affair fell Major Holmes, Captain Vanhorn and Lieutenant Jackson, all highly respectable and esteemed officers. Major Holmes added to a courage which no danger could dampen, a fund of talents and skill in his profession which,

had he lived to pursue the career which he had commenced, would have shed a lustre upon his name, and rendered signal service to his country.

Soon after this period, commenced the civil government of this territory, which had in a great degree been suspended from 1812, and General Cass was appointed Governor. The return of peace, in 1815, was joyfully hailed by the people of Michigan, who had been long harassed and disturbed by a savage border war with all its frightful concomitants, during which the inhabitants of the territory, although many of them were strangers to our language, laws and government, have borne every species of privation and distress that savage malice could suggest. True to the country of their adoption, they have been prodigal of their blood and treasure in defense of its injured rights, alike heedless of the appalling alarms of plunder, conflagration and death, as deaf to the insidious arts of their neighbors in Canada, they have evinced throughout the trying ordeal a constancy and fortitude in every varying change highly creditable to them as patriotic citizens, and equally honorable to them as soldiers.

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